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"The election of Mr. Cleveland will indicate that, sooner or later, the shackles will fall from trade, as completely as by the election of Lincoln, the chains dropped from the slave. How Canada shall profit by an event of almost equal beneficence, she must herself determine."—*Speech at St. John, N. B.*

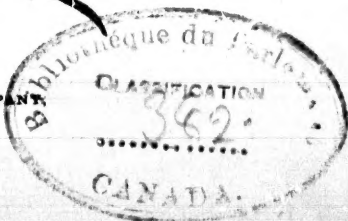
# CLOSEST TRADE RELATIONS Between the UNITED STATES & CANADA.

By



*Ernest Winans*

TORONTO:  
NATIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
King Street,  
1892.





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POINTS MADE IN A  
MARITIME PROVINCE TOUR,  
BY  
ERASTUS WIMAN.

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✓ CLOSEST TRADE RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE  
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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THE PARTIES CONCERNED:

GREAT BRITAIN—How Benefited by Continental Free Trade.

CANADA—How Enriched by a North American Zollverein.

UNITED STATES—How Opportunity would be Enlarged by Continental Union.

THE WORLD—Its Hope in Anglo-Saxon Unity.

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Awake, my Country! The hour is great with change.—DOUGLASS ROBERTS.

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TORONTO, ONTARIO:  
NATIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
KING STREET.

1892.

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"Annexation is unnecessary; it is undesirable; it is in our day impossible."—*Speech at Toronto October, 1890.*

"The increasing number in Canada who are talking about annexation to the United States, should ponder well the sentence from Horace: 'The short space of life forbids the laying of plans requiring a long time for their accomplishment.'"

"In grasping for what in fifty years may still be a shadow, there is danger of losing the substance which is attainable in five years. In practical politics in Canada, as indeed in the United States, the early consummation of Political Union is attended with the gravest difficulties, especially should both countries pursue a policy of belligerency, which, with this end in view, one of them is invited to do. On the other hand a commercial union, for instance in the shape of Continental Free Trade, is early possible, and is being promoted by forces that are well nigh irresistible."—*Speech at St. John, N. B., October, 1892.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

The deep significance of the verdict, so emphatically rendered at the recent Presidential contest in the United States, has an interest for Canada almost as great as for the Union itself. Certainly Canada has an interest far greater than any other foreign country, though nearly all outside nations are concerned in it.

If this verdict means anything, it means for the United States an era of free raw material and cheapened food products. These are the essential elements of that foreign trade, which it is the determined policy of the Democratic party to build up. Free raw material and food products Canada can supply to an extent and to greater advantage to the United States, and to herself, than is possible to any other outlying territory. Hence a new and most important opportunity may open out for the Dominion. Clearly the wise policy announced by Mr. Cleveland, that he will not in his Free Trade crusade needlessly disturb existing and vested interests created by Protection, hardly applies to natural products, raw material, or food supplies. Freedom in all these will be the first step to be taken in fulfilment of a policy that has for its purpose the unshackling of trade, especially where it can be done without injury, and with positive benefit to the vast mass of the people.

But the question with regard to Canada will be whether the barriers are to be taken down on one side only. While it will be most desirable on the part of the United States, to admit freely raw material and food products, it will be equally desirable to open up new markets in exchange for these—not new markets for natural products, but markets for manufactures into which these natural products find their way. Certainly it will not fulfil the idea of the Democrats of Freedom of Trade if the freedom is on one side only. Unless goods or merchandise are exchanged for what Canada has to sell, there can be no freedom of trade with Canada. If money alone is to be the medium of exchange, then there is little prospect of an increased trade between the two countries, as the outcome of the new policy hereafter and for a long time to prevail in the United States.

The result will be, that in order to get into commercial contact with the United States, even under changed conditions, the policy of Canada will have to be reversed. A "reciprocity of tariffs" will have to precede a "reciprocity of trade," as the position of the two countries is likely to be completely changed, and Sir John Macdonald's celebrated play upon these words will hereafter have a different significance than when they were uttered.

The United States, under the new policy now to be inaugurated, will be the best market in the world for Canada. Her natural resources, so enormous and so varied; her agricultural output, susceptible of vast expansion; her abundant room for immigration, and her eventual advantages as a great manufacturing nation, need precisely the opening which the United States is now likely to afford. Meantime Canada is a market for the manufactures of the United States, which, in exchange for these advantages, it is natural she should demand. This market, it is realized, is susceptible of great expansion, if a growth goes forward in the North with a rapidity equal to that which has occurred in the United States. This growth has resulted from ever widening areas, large immigration, and the development of natural resources, three conditions which alone can find further play in the portion of the continent within the British Possessions. It will be unreasonable to expect that the Americans should not share with the Canadians all the benefits derivable from consequences following such a development. Hence a perfect and free exchange must be at the basis of the bargain, commencing with raw material and food products, with such manufactures as already are possessed by Canada, in exchange for the manufactures of the United States, and such food products as Canada needs from them.

It will be seen, therefore, that the period is a momentous one, and that discussion is desirable of what is best for Canada, of what is best for the United States, and equally what is best for Great Britain. With that in view, there are submitted in the

following pages some points, from Addresses recently delivered in the Maritime Provinces, bearing upon this subject, and which, though spoken prior to the recent election, are applicable with redoubled force to existing conditions.

An important change impends in relation to the Canadian Question in the United States. Not only will a party be in power that is animated by a totally different principle in regard to trade with outside countries, but one of its beliefs is that the regulation of the tariff resides in the House of Representatives, and not either in the Senate or the Executive. These two latter branches of the Government are the parties alone concerned in concluding Treaties of Reciprocity, in which heretofore the House of Representatives has had little or nothing to say. Hence, the relations between the United States and Canada will not longer be the subject of Diplomacy, but rather of Legislation. Inasmuch as the creation of the McKinley Tariff on the one side, and the Foster Tariff on the other, were not the subjects of treaty, neither will their modification, or total repeal so far as Canada is concerned, render it necessary to bring in the resources of Diplomacy. A simple resolution of Congress on the one hand, and of Parliament on the other, is all that is necessary to effect an arrangement between the two countries of the most far reaching character, and in the highest degree beneficial. The question, therefore, assumes a shape more resembling real Free Trade by the obliteration of the Tariff rather than Reciprocity by Treaty. Reciprocity, exemplifying a recent tenet in the belief of the Republican Party, is not likely to be popular with the Democrats, who, regarding it as a leaf filched from the free trade primer, will likely, after March next, relegate it as far as possible to the position of a back-number.

To meet these important changes and to give a broader and better designation to a possible solution of all the difficulties between Canada and the United States, it has been suggested that the term Continental Free Trade would more completely meet the conditions existing than either Unrestricted Reciprocity or Commercial Union. To Canada the results will be the same in the enlargement of her market and the broadened opportunity for purchases. Equally to the United States the result of Continental Free Trade would be highly advantageous, for looking to Mexico\* on the one side and to the British Possessions on the other, there will be found a ready-made opportunity for testing the benefits of enlarged commercial intercourse, without at all imperilling interests created by the policy of Protection.

It was believed that in a new discussion of these important topics, an attempt might be successful to eliminate party politics entirely. Political rancour has to a large degree subsided, so far as trade questions were concerned; and if it were possible to look at purely business matters from a purely business point of view, and to discuss the whole question as an economic one, a desirable result might be attained. The announcement of this disposition was cordially responded to, notably in one instance by fifty business men, the most prominent in Halifax, who, irrespective of party, awarded a most hearty welcome to the writer of these lines, and who thereby pledged him to a discussion of the trade question, that should be impartial, dispassionate, and inoffensive. How far that pledge was adhered to the reader of the following pages must judge.

The large audiences that everywhere greeted the speaker (limited only by the size of the halls in which the meetings were held); the quick apprehension and ready response to the points made; the intensity of interest manifested till the last words were uttered of long addresses full of business details; and above all the exceeding courtesy, heartiness, and hospitality, irrespective of party, everywhere extended to the speaker, made it apparent, to him at least, that a deep concern abides in the hearts of the Canadian people as to their future. It did more, it confirmed him in the conviction now long held, that an eager desire exists for the closest trade relations with their Cousins across the border.

STATEN ISLAND, N. Y., November, 1892.

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\*See recent letter of Hon. Thomas Ryan, United States Minister to Mexico.

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## CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE.

### HOW IT WOULD BENEFIT GREAT BRITAIN.

*At Halifax, N. S., October 24, 1892—with Alterations.*

#### Columbus Commemoration and Canada.

Mr. Wiman said that it seemed appropriate at this period in the history of this continent, when there was being celebrated the anniversary of its discovery by Columbus, that in this portion of it which was really the first discovered, there should be some discussion as to the results of that great event. It was a period in which it might with some propriety be said that an inventory was in order, a stock taking, as to results, as to possessions, profits and prospects, so as to discover whether the best that could be done on this continent had been done.

Throughout the United States in the past week there had been a wonderful demonstration of satisfaction and joy in commemoration of this great event. Next year at Chicago a most stupendous object lesson was to be given to the world as showing some of the results of this great discovery. It was significant that this was undertaken and carried forward by the lesser half of the continent, and that in the greater half, included in Canada, there seemed to be an apathy and an indifference that was painful in comparison. Was it because the portion of the continent within the British Possessions was a less valuable one than that South of the line of demarcation between the two? It was well known that this was not the case.

Perhaps it was because there had been less development, and hence less ground for rejoicing; because there was less wealth, hence less money to spend; because there was vastly less population, hence less enthusiasm; and that the two sections of the Anglo-Saxon race which held the continent together in common, had different cause for rejoicing in the immense growth and development of the one, and the stunted and slow growth of the other.

#### Relations between United States and Canada Dwarfs all Other Questions.

No question exceeds in importance, either in the United States or Canada, the relations that will hereafter exist between these two countries. Together they hold the continent of North America, "whose whole history shows it to be the last best gift of Providence to mankind." The commemoration of its discovery by Columbus, celebrated in the lesser half of the continent with great acclaim, with measureless content and righteous self-congratulation, seems a time opportune for a discussion

as to the future destiny of the Greater Half of the vast contribution to the good of mankind made by the great navigator, four hundred years ago.

It seems equally proper that the discussion should commence in Canada itself, and within that portion of the continent where, notwithstanding enormous latent wealth, a splendid geographical location, and wherein resided an industrious and patient people, in which nevertheless there is less cause for rejoicing, less enthusiasm, and perhaps more sentiment and more prejudice than elsewhere exist. Hence the attempt is now made in the chief centres of the maritime Provinces, being the first portions of the continent really occupied, to open a discussion as to the future policy hereafter to prevail in the British North American Possessions with special reference to the United States.

Individual interests in great variety and number; the field of opportunity for the new generations; matters of grave national concern; the increase of internal commerce; the prosperity of numerous localities; and especially the future food supply of the world, are all involved in the greater rapidity of development of the great north-land included in the British Possessions in North America. The possibilities in those regions of vast material gain, of enrichment to the participants in their development and in good to mankind at large, are measured by the development and growth of the southern half of the continent included within the United States.

To discuss these features, and to help toward the consummation of some reasonable and feasible business plan by which the two sections may be early brought closer together in trade relations, is the object sought on this occasion.

#### Discovery of America Important to All Mankind.

Of all events in the history of the world the discovery of America was the most important. To humanity at large it is a revelation which as Emerson said is the "last best gift of Providence to mankind." A New World so vast in extent, so varied in climate, so full of resources for the good of humanity, so attractive in every way, was indeed a boon to the Old World. In almost every thing that makes for happiness, America has contributed, and to imagine a condition of the world without



America to-day is to imagine almost hopelessness for humanity.

Perhaps the most striking thought in connection with the question of food for the human race is that brought forth by Malthus, who before the development of America maintained that as population increased with so much greater rapidity than the possibility of production, that wars were an absolute necessity in order to decimate the population, and that the propagation of the species was little else than barbarity. The discovery of the vast regions, of which this Province is a wharf-like projection, removed the dreadful apprehension that in time the populace could not gather from the earth sufficient food to sustain it. Hence, even in this respect can the blessedness of the discovery be realized.

#### America Most Important to Great Britain.

All the world has thus been benefited, but to no nation has the discovery of America been so significant and so full of advantage as to Great Britain. The great central fact that the language of America is the English language is a supreme testimony to the connection between the two countries. The discovery of Cabot, as commissioned by an English King, established for all time the Anglo-Saxon seal upon this continent. It was fortunate that a great bank of clouds should have caused Columbus to steer toward the South, and that he first made his landing at a point so low down in latitude that that region became the home of the Latin race; while Cabot, with his sturdy courage steered northward, and thus planted here the Anglo-Saxon race. It was the Providence of God indeed, that the northern regions of this vast continent were freed from blight, indolence and treachery which characterized the introduction of the Latin race in the Southern Republics.

It was beyond all question a contribution to the progress of mankind that in the Northern and more vigorous regions the Anglo-Saxon race had an opportunity for development, which in the history of the world had never before been offered. Thus, whatever success has been achieved in the United States, whatever growth in material wealth for the benefit of the world, whatever lessons of self government, of progress and of civilization, must be attributed to the force and vigor of the English speaking people. Great Britain has been glorified to a degree far greater by the achievements on American soil, than by the achievements in any portion of the globe. Hundreds of thousands of happy homes have been created and are preserved inviolate by English laws. Justice is administered, the possession of property maintained, individual rights rendered safe, and civilization in its most advanced forms founded upon English jurisprudence. The intelligence of the people and their love of liberty, their intellectual development and their business success, are the

fruits of the teachings of English authors. Everywhere and in every direction are seen the influences of England on this continent.

#### Outlet for the Irish People.

Then what a tremendous advantage has resulted in the outlet which was given for the English and Irish people in this direction. Suppose, for instance, that there had been no emigration from Ireland, and that the same fecundity had existed among that people there as elsewhere, what would have been the condition of Ireland to-day? She would have been powerless to sustain her populace; and while England has had trouble enough with the handful that remain, what might have been the condition of affairs had she been compelled to govern the enormous population, which by this time would have inhabited the Green Isle?

But what has been the fate encountered by those Irishmen who have emigrated and their children? Where in all the world has there been an improvement so visible as in America in the Irish race? Unable apparently to govern themselves in their own land, they have attained the great privilege of controlling the only self-governing nation on the globe! The progress of the Irish people in America is one of the most important and interesting studies of the time. There seems to have been a stimulant in American air to their intellectual development, and the growth and power of the Irish people throughout New England, the Middle States and the Western States is the political feature of the hour.

#### A Tribute to the Irish Servant Girl.

No better illustration of the forces at work in America among the Irish people is found than in the enormous remittances that for years have been made by servant girls in America to their relatives in Ireland. The result of these remittances was the almost wholesale exodus of the Irish people, so that the movement which has taken place of assimilating so large a proportion of the Irish people into the American nationality was the result of the labors of this humble class. No one can contemplate the history of the Irish servant girl of North America, without the greatest admiration. Humble in her efforts, faithful, virtuous, and honest to a degree, her efficiency and devotion has been almost universal; while her thrift and saving has found an illustration, not only in the exodus of her own people to America through her aid, but in the enormous accumulations in the shape of savings which now stand to her credit. In the city of New York the amount of money in the savings banks, foots up to the enormous figures of 375 millions of dollars, and it is alleged that at least 100 millions of this money is the property of the Irish servant girl. If this is so in New York, may it not be in proportion duplicated all over the country?

The influence of this class of the Irish race, the happy homes it has created, the efficient service it has rendered, are all testimonies to the usefulness of the United States to Great Britain. Contemplate what would have been the result to the Irish race had not the continent of North America been opened to their usefulness.

#### The Influence of the Irish Politician.

Then as to the Irish navy, need it be said that he has been more useful in building up the United States than any other instrumentality. The canals, railroads, and other public works are the direct result of his hands, and while he has disappeared as a navy, he now comes forth as a contractor, and a boss of the Italian, the Pole, and the Russian that comes in this direction.

It is said that in New York an Irishman with four children is more powerful than half a dozen Americans. First, because owning the corner grocery or the saloon, he has access to more votes than his American neighbor. Next, his daughter being a school teacher, one of his sons a contractor and the other a policeman, he does more to regulate the affairs of his immediate vicinity than any other member of the community. But it is not alone by Irishmen as members of the British race that the policy of the country has been more or less dictated. Englishmen with strong intellectual force, especially in speakers and orators, and Scotchmen with their far-sighted shrewdness and ability, have contributed greatly to the success of that country. It is true that the German element, and more recently the Scandinavian, Polish and Russian immigration has somewhat submerged the English and Scotch, but the steady stream that sets in this direction from Great Britain is a constant evidence of the attractiveness of this region to the English people.

#### American Protection, England's Safety.

Aside, however, from the contributions to population by Great Britain to the United States, and the home which has thus been provided for so many of her people, with the enlarged opportunity which has thus been afforded them, the indirect advantage to Great Britain of the commerce of the United States is almost beyond estimate. The United States are by all odds the best customers of Great Britain. It is true that the policy of the States in recent years has been towards building up her own industries, and shutting out the products of the old world. There has been a severe and bitter commercial contest waging between them for supremacy within the markets of the United States, but attention is drawn to the fact that during this conflict England has had almost entire possession of the markets of the world. It is most fortunate for England that this policy has been pursued, for

had the same development in the foreign commerce of the United States taken place as has occurred in her internal commerce, and the principles of free trade been as successfully applied as those of protection, the foreign commerce of Great Britain would have been seriously affected. Indeed, there are those who look with apprehension upon any change of policy in the United States by which the cost of production will be materially reduced by decline of taxation, for, as Mr. Chamberlain said to the speaker, "No disaster could be greater than to have the United States enter foreign markets on equal terms of production with Great Britain."

The presence in the United States of enormous supplies of raw material, of cheap food, of great development in machinery, of abundant coal and nearness to the markets of the world, would make them a competitor against England of the keenest kind. Hence, while there may be some feeling of animosity created by the policy of the United States against England for the control of her own market, there ought to be a sense of gratitude that up to this time, this vast country has not competed with or injured Great Britain in foreign markets.

#### United States Britain's Best Customer.

But, even with a protective policy and an attempted commercial isolation, the United States is by all odds the greatest customer of Great Britain. Importing as the United States do no less an aggregate than a thousand millions of dollars worth of goods a year, a very large proportion of this enormous amount comes from the British Isles, and all of it is paid for through their instrumentality. A thousand million dollars a year is a vast sum of money, and those who think that the McKinley Bill, and the general policy of the United States has isolated her need only consider how enormous are these figures, aggregating almost three millions of dollars a day of imports. What is most wonderful, too, is that notwithstanding the exactions of the McKinley Bill, these imports are increasing very rapidly. For it is a fact, which very few have yet realized, that the provisions of that bill greatly enlarged the free list, and while it put up the duty on many articles, it reduced it on a great many others.

#### Britain's Profits from the American Carrying Trade.

But it is not alone in imports from Great Britain that the United States is her best customer, for it should be borne in mind that almost the entire carrying trade between Europe and America contributes to Great Britain. None realize better than the people of the Maritime Provinces what are the possible profits upon an enormous volume of shipping. The immense investment Great Britain has made in Atlantic liners which run like daily ferries

between New York and Liverpool is at once an evidence of the success and stability of this trade. There is in no department of human activity a better investment than in the ocean-going craft between England and America. In this, of course, is included very largely the shipping between Germany and New York, which, it must be borne in mind, has been mainly constructed upon the Clyde and elsewhere in Great Britain, and further that many of the ships hailing from Continental ports are manned by English officers and English seamen, and that they almost invariably touch at British ports, to procure their supplies from British merchants or manufacturers. In all the range of investments there is nothing more striking than the growth of the Maritime commerce of Great Britain, and to no portion of the world is it so large, so profitable, and involving interests so important as to the United States.

The business in which these great ships are engaged is altogether profitable to Great Britain. First, because they bring out goods on which there is a profit, going directly into the British pocket; second, because they take back produce which is absolutely essential to her existence. It has been said that there was only one way in which the British Nation could be conquered, and that was to surround it with a cordon of ships and prevent supplies of food from reaching it. The British Nation never can be beaten in an open field; the only mode of conquest would be by starvation. Blot out the ships that are running between New York and Liverpool, and this disaster would overtake the British people. The sustentation of human life in the British Isles is more dependent upon America than upon any other region. The growth of corn in the Western States, which finds its outgrowth in provisions, bacon, hams, and beef, together with direct supplies of breadstuffs, and, more than anything else, cotton and other raw material, forms the basis of British prosperity.

#### Extravagant American Tourists.

But these ships perform still a nobler and a higher service, and that is the transportation to the shores of Europe of vast numbers of Americans who yearly travel in that direction, the number constantly increasing and the results in the shape of expenditure being the best contributions in the shape of expenditures Great Britain receives. The great hotels which have gone up in London, recently, and indeed in all the larger cities, are an illustration of the extent of this travel. The English hotel was a mere tavern until the American demand developed, but now such great edifices as the Metropole, the Victoria, the Grand, the Savoy, the Shaftesbury, the Langham, and other hosteleries are evidences of the growth and expenditure, while British retail merchants thrive, prosper and fatten up, on the liberality and extravagance of the Americans.

#### The United States' Contribution to British Incomes.

Still further and greater contributions than all this, however, are found in the enormous sums which are now remitted to London from the United States in the shape of interest. The extent of the foreign commerce of Great Britain is the boast of every patriot, and the sums realized from the profits on this vast trade with the world is a matter of astonishment and pride to every economic student. But vaster and much more certain of return is the volume of interest which yearly comes to the British people. This interest, levied from every nation under the sun, now amounts, it is said, to a thousand millions of dollars a year, and of this sum not less than two hundred millions is contributed directly from America.

The idea recently promulgated in London that it would be well to tax American products in order that colonial products should be encouraged, and those from the United States shut out, found one of its chief impediments in the fact that in taxing American products they diminished the chance of American investments in transportation facilities, from which a larger profit is actually realized than by the producer himself. Thus the carrier of corn from Kansas gets a better return than the grower of corn in that State. The amount of British money invested in American railways, mills, elevators, breweries, mines, manufactories and steamship companies, is almost greater than that invested in England, and the supreme folly of any policy that would diminish the profit of these great enterprises would be simply suicidal. It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive of two nations whose interests are more completely interlaced, materially, morally and intellectually than the two nations of Great Britain and the United States. The one benefits the other to a greater degree than any other relation or connection in the world.

#### Advantage to Britain Beyond Estimate.

Therefore, the advantage conferred upon Great Britain by the discovery of America on the one hand, and the development of the United States on the other, is simply beyond human estimate. It has been said that no greater good fortune has ever fallen to Great Britain than the secession and the setting up for themselves of the thirteen colonies. If it were advantageous for the whole world that America should be discovered—if it were more advantageous to Great Britain than to any other nation that in this continent an enormous development should take place, it has certainly been of still greater advantage that an independent nation has been created, because that development has been greater and more complete than if the colonies had remained under the control of Great Britain.

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### Declaration of Independence Justified by Events.

It is impossible to conceive that this vast commonwealth of the United States, now composed of forty-four nations, could ever have reached the perfection of development which has been attained had it been governed from Downing Street in London. The world at large recognizes this, and whether we who are Canadians and attached to the British Crown by affection, lineage and interests, admit it or not, the fact nevertheless remains that by independence, self-reliance, self-government and an entire freedom of action, the United States have, within a hundred years, achieved a greater success than elsewhere in the world has been vouchsafed to mankind.

Just in the measure of that success, so far as material development is concerned, has the advantage been to Great Britain. The growth and progress of the United States has been almost as much to the relative benefit of Great Britain as to the United States themselves, and the enormous increase in traffic, in importation, in remittances and in profits which Great Britain realizes from the Continent of North America, is more to be attributed to their freedom and liberality of institutions than to almost anything else.

Out of sixty-five millions of people in the United States to-day, not a hundred thousand would argue in favor of going back to colonial existence, and not one quarter even of this limited number would testify as a fact that a mistake had been made when a complete severance, commercially and politically, was consummated between the United States and England. Therefore, at this hour, when we are all thinking of the wonderful results of the discovery of America, there are three great conclusions which must force themselves upon the mind. The first is that the discovery of America was of enormous advantage to Great Britain, that its development, so rapid and so fruitful, has been the greatest of blessings to Great Britain, and that this latter could not have occurred in the measure which has been achieved, but for the secession of 1776.

The conquest of one country by another through commerce is well illustrated in the history of the relations between Great Britain and the United States. Certainly, so far as advantages arising out of conquest are concerned, Great Britain has gained infinitely more by freedom in America than she would have done by continued colonial existence. This is well illustrated by a quotation in the forthcoming number of the *North American Review* by Mr. Blaine from the speeches of the younger Pitt when Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the effect that, in the eight years following the close of the War of Independence, Great Britain had acquired so large a commerce with America as to be much more advantageous to her than had America remained a dependency of the British Crown. In other words, that the conquest

by commerce was far more advantageous to Great Britain than any benefit that could have accrued to her through a conquest by war.

### Retention of British Possessions.

It is true that in reaching such a conclusion there is a reflection upon the policy which dictated the retention under British control of the still Greater Half of the continent, but it by no means follows that this reflection is correct. Great Britain realizes many advantages from her possessions in North America. Her moral influence before the world has been immensely benefited by the extent of area of her Empire, and as Canada comprises no less than forty per cent. of that area, the force which has given her control in the affairs of the world has been more or less derived from this possession. Nor is it intended that there should be any reflection whatever upon the high and honorable purpose which animated the United Empire Loyalists when they sacrificed their fortunes and their futures in the protest which they made against the American Revolution, and taking upon themselves all the risks and burdens of a new existence emigrated to this land. The world has never yet done these men justice, nor has it ever been realized what an influence they have had in shaping the policy of the greater half of the continent. At this late date, it does not become anyone to question the wisdom of the step, and though it might be said that had the Declaration of Independence included the whole continent instead of half of it, the same measure of prosperity might have permeated the whole continent as now covers one-half of it, nevertheless, in the Divine ordering of things, it might have been otherwise. The area of country covered by the United States has been within its grasp. All varieties of climate, all products of the soil, and all classes of minerals were within its control, and the experiment of self-government and self-development which has taken place was better confined to half the continent than if it had been scattered and dispersed over the whole of it.

### Progress in the United States Highly Advantageous to the Mother Country.

At this period in the history of the world, a lesson can be learned that perhaps will be fruitful for all time, and that is, that nations such as Great Britain and the United States, having intimate relations, can decide upon the future policy which shall govern them in developing the rest of the continent. The point to be urged, however, is that if the advantages which have resulted to Great Britain from the freest development in the United States have been of the greatest possible gain to the mother country, it follows that an equal development of the northern half of the continent, within the British possessions themselves, will be equally beneficial to Great Britain. If increase of



population, growth in wealth, the creation of myriads of happy homes, progress in science, the development of all that is best and greatest in civilization has been the result in the United States, should not the same result be achieved in Canada? The two countries are side by side in the possession of the great continent that Columbus discovered. In the one, there is a variety of climate and product which is not possessed by the other. The Declaration of Independence created a line of demarcation between them and erected a barrier which, though almost imperceptible in nature, is by policy as high as a mountain and as broad as a sea. If by the obliteration of this barrier the two countries can get together, in products, in climate and in mutual effort for each others advantage, what possible objection can there be to the accomplishment of this purpose?

Clearly, if Great Britain is benefitted by development in the Southern part of the continent, she would be equally benefitted by development in the North. Clearly that development in the North has not taken place, and cannot take place so long as the efforts of its people are confined to narrow latitudes, in which the products are all the same in which the impediments to trade, travel and traffic are numerous, and in which, by the policy of isolation, they are rendered almost impassable.

#### The Continent Like the Human Hand.

The continent has always seemed to be like a great hand, the palm and force of which was the United States, while the fingers radiating from the centre were the five distinctive divisions of the Great North Land. Thus the little finger is represented by the Maritime Provinces, full of the greatest possible resources—resources so great as to be designated by Governor Andrew as possessing the potentialities of wealth in minerals, in agriculture, in timber and in coal to as great an extent as New York and Pennsylvania combined. Then comes the great Province of Quebec, representing the fourth finger in the hand, five times as large as New York and full of possibilities in her people, her products, and her latent power; then the third finger, representing the Province of Ontario, covering so vast an area of the earth's surface, and capable of trading with a larger population in the United States than any other country, because she fronts a greater number of commonwealths; then, the forefinger, the wonderful region of the Northwest Provinces and Territories, the future granary of the world; and then the thumb, to represent the richest Province under the Sun, British Columbia. That there should be a barrier at the base of the fingers, so that they could have no contact with the rest of the hand, is as unnatural as it would be that every Canadian boy should be hampered with an iron clamp at the base of his fingers, and thus defeat his efforts to use his whole hand. Nature and geography intended that all

these regions should be one commercially, just as nature intended each individual on both sides of the border should use his whole hand.

#### A Business Bargain to Make Business Possible.

It has pleased the Providence of God to create two nations on this continent. The line of demarcation that runs athwart the continent, south of its centre, separates them politically and commercially. It is as well for the United States as it is well for Great Britain that this political barrier should still continue to exist. There are many reasons on all sides for its continuance. On another occasion, the speaker said he would demonstrate these reasons and endeavor to make it appear that no good purpose could be served at present by annexation. On the contrary, there was much to be said adverse to that proposition.

But there is one plan by which, without loss of political allegiance to Great Britain, and without any sacrifice of political dignity, a relation might be created between the two people on this continent that would be highly beneficial to all the parties concerned, and to none to a greater degree than to Great Britain. That plan is Continental Free Trade in products of all classes, an entire and complete reciprocity between the two nations that hold the continent in common. This is the proposition of Unrestricted Reciprocity between the United States and Canada, pregnant with the greatest possible consequences to both countries. The measure of the growth of the wealth of the United States is the measure of the possible growth of the wealth of Canada. This growth can never take place till a market is afforded for the products of the latter. That market exists directly alongside, extending over a border line unparalleled in length. No greater asset was ever possible to any land than the asset of a market such as the United States affords. No greater asset was ever possessed by any country than to the United States exists in the possibility of the development of Canada. It is true that in Great Britain a free market is open to Canada for all her products, but it is three thousand miles away. It is true that the people of the mother country need many of the things that Canada has to spare, but she needs them so badly that all the world competes with Canada for their supply. A totally different condition exists in the United States. The market is not three thousand miles away, but right at your own doors, a market reachable from the Maritime Provinces by means of communication which nature has provided, and which requires the laying of no rails, the building of no locomotives. It is a market also for which practically there is no competitor as against Canada, and what is better than all, it is a market that would absorb everything that Canada can produce. In this respect it has the advantage of the English market, because

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### Make Business

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There are many things that it does not pay to export three thousand miles, but which it is profitable to send a few hundred miles. Besides this, the opening of the American market does not close the British market, but only augments the opportunity for the Canadian producer.

### The Possible Variety of Exchange.

When one recalls the efforts of the farmer throughout Canada, and realizes with what a struggle existence is maintained, it seems a pitiable policy that restricts him to the narrow limits of his own region, or to a region so distant as three thousand miles away. Entering the farm yard, the variety of his products is found to consist mainly of just such things as he can send with profit to the United States. In eggs, in poultry, in lambs and mutton, in veal and beef, in potatoes and apples, barley and oats, in vegetables and garden fruit, and also, in hay, in grain, horses and cattle, in lumber, in timber, in coal, in iron, in copper, in nickel, in lead, in asbestos, in mica, in talc, and in every natural product, there is an opportunity and an opening in the United States market.

Equally so with Manufactures. There never was a greater manufacturing population in the world than the Canadians. Industrious and frugal, with an abundant supply of raw material, and in Quebec and Ontario with an unlimited water power, they possess the potentialities of profit in manufactures that no other country in the world possesses. With an open market, and a free and unrestricted access to the wealthiest and most extravagant aggregation of humanity on the face of the earth, there seems nothing wanting to make their career most successful and prosperous one.

### How Would it Benefit Britain?

Now, it will be asked how all this will benefit Great Britain, as it would benefit the United States and Canada? The same relative development would take place if the barrier was broken down, in the Maritime Provinces, as has taken place in Massachusetts. If Quebec had free access to the country south of her, she would grow with the same rapidity as States in that region have grown. If Ontario had the same chance as Ohio and Pennsylvania, Ontario would be just as rich and just as prosperous and just as progressive as those two great commonwealths. If Algoma, that marvellous treasure box of the continent, had the same development as Michigan; if the iron and gold and copper from the North Shore of Lake Superior had the same stimulant of capital, and the same market as that on the South Shore of the Lake, the same marvellous development would have taken place. If Manitoba and the Northwest had the same market as Minnesota and Dakota, the progress of these northern regions would be much greater, as they are much richer, while the growth of

British Columbia, that wonderful land of wealth, instead of being stunted and confined, would be relatively as great as that of Oregon and Washington.

### Canada Enriched, Britain Benefited.

If all this occurred, and Canada was enriched by her development and her profit, Great Britain would feel the immediate effect. Not only would the same relative amount of importation take place in Canada as is now taking place in the United States, but her people would grow rich, they would be visiting in larger numbers the old country, they would be spending ten dollars where they are now only able to spend one, and what is greater and better, there would be afforded fields for investment on British soil, under British laws, under British administration, that would be extremely attractive to the British people. Already Canada yields to Great Britain a revenue in interest of about thirty-five million dollars a year, an amount equal to her agricultural exports. Every farmer that plows a furrow plows it for the English capitalist; every lamb that bleats upon the hillside, every horse that trots up the lane, is raised for the benefit of the English money lender, and we are just running along like a sleigh upon bare ground, keeping our heads above the water.

### The Cause of Canada's Slow Growth.

The payments for goods which are imported into Canada, and the payments for interest, far exceed the exports, and yearly the balance is climbing up which Canada has to face. She needs a development which would enable her not only to carry this heavy burden, but to steadily increase it for the benefit of the English capitalists. The mineral development which it would be possible to realize from the investment of large amounts of capital, from increase of population, and from the possession of a great market is almost beyond estimate, while the attractions which would be afforded to immigration not only in the Maritime Provinces, but to the Dominion at large, would equal those which the United States now affords. Indeed the policy of the United States from this time on, towards immigration, is to restrict and diminish it, and an opportunity is afforded to Canada to accommodate and sustain enormous numbers of Europeans who seek these shores, if by a wise policy she takes advantage of existing conditions.

### Great Britain's Disadvantage.

What is the disadvantage to Great Britain arising from Continental Free Trade between the United States and Canada? The first great disadvantage would be a discrimination against manufactured goods from Europe, and in favor of those from the United States. At first sight

this does seem to be a serious impediment. That one part of the British Empire should discriminate against another part of it, is an obstacle which is difficult to surmount. But if it can be shown that by that discrimination ten dollars worth of goods can be bought in Great Britain where one is now bought, that ten dollars of interest can be paid where now only one can be afforded, is it not wise to contemplate this discrimination? If the development of the greater half of the continent can only be achieved by a commercial bargain with the rest of the continent, and that commercial bargain implies that the goods of the latter shall be admitted free, should this obstacle forever remain in the way?

When the manufacturers of Great Britain perfectly apprehend that there is no possible development in the Northern half of the continent equal to that in the Southern half, except the two are commercially united, they will readily understand that if the growth of the Northern part is to equal that which has occurred in the Southern part, the temporary disadvantage of discrimination is not for one moment to be considered.

#### Canada has already Discriminated.

Besides which, it must be born in mind that Canada has already discriminated very seriously against English manufactures. True, not in favor of the United States, but in favor of themselves, and so far as the English manufacturer is concerned, it makes no difference to him whether the discrimination is in favor of a Canadian or an American. Thus, the time was when all the sugar that was consumed in Canada, was refined in England. It is not very long ago when all gray cottons used throughout this vast Dominion were the product of English manufacture. To-day, not a barrel of sugar or a bale of cotton comes in this direction. The English manufacturer and merchant are deprived of the profit. It matters not to him in which direction the profit goes, whether to the Canadian manufacturer or the manufacturer of the United States. So far as loyalty to him is concerned and to British interests, it is just as disloyal to put a duty upon English cotton in favor of the Canadian manufacturer as in favor of an American manufacturer. If it can be proved, however, that the rank and file of English capitalists, British investors, and British manufacturers would be benefitted by a growth in Canada equal to that of the United States, in the next fifty or a hundred years, there ought to be no difficulty in making clear that the discrimination which Continental Free Trade would necessitate is in the line of advantage to Great Britain rather than against her.

But it by no means follows that the United States are to continue in their policy of commercial isolation, and that by joining them commercially Great Britain is forever shut out from direct participation by importation in the prosperity of the United

States. It will be seen that at the Presidential election, which is now to be held within a few days that a majority of the people of the United States desire a change in the policy which has hitherto taxed the many for the benefit of the few, and that the commercial policy hereafter, if not by direct free trade, certainly by reciprocal arrangements, points to a tendency towards a better relation with the rest of the world.

#### Obliteration of American Tariff.

That the United States tariff must come down is one of the certain facts of the future, and if by trading freely with Canada a reduction in the cost of living should result, it would be one of the object lessons to the American people of the benefits of free trade with other neighboring nations. No influence would be more potent in the direction of a more liberal policy towards England than by admitting the products of 40 per cent. of the British Empire into the American nation free. The obliteration of the McKinley Bill along the entire northern border of the United States would be an achievement of enormous influence upon the future of the continent and Great Britain could make no contribution towards its entire obliteration, as by encouraging Canada to procure its cessation, and the admission of her products free. If it were well to have the McKinley Bill obliterated towards the entire British Empire, it is surely well to have it obliterated towards forty per cent. of it, even though in that forty per cent. a Canadian tariff, now very high, was advanced a few points higher for the general good of Canada itself.

#### Canadian Interests and British Interests—Which?

Aside from considering the question of Continental Free Trade as to how it would immediately and directly benefit Great Britain, the question should be considered how it would immediately and directly benefit Canada. In the contentment of the Canadian people, in the belief that the policy pursued is the one that best serves their purposes, rests the future of British connection. It is impossible to imagine that this country is to be governed and regulated entirely for the benefit of that connection. The Canadian of the generation now assuming control of the affairs of half the continent will think for himself what is best for the future of Canada.

If forever Canada is to be restricted to a narrow limit of trade, if her people are to live upon each other by trading in articles of the same character and latitude, forever to be shut out from the great prospect of growth which right alongside of her is every day developed, forever to be commercially isolated because of her connection with Great Britain, that connection will cease to be. The conflict between interests on the one hand, and loyalty

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on the other, has already commenced. The growth of unrest, of discontent, of open advocacy of inde- pendence on the one hand, or annexation on the other, is constant.

#### A Vast Loss in the Exodus.

This finds its evidence in the enormous exodus that has taken place from Canada to the United States. There has been an amount of personal annexation going forward in the last ten years which is simply alarming in its character and in its extent. A greater proportion of male adults has left Canada than has ever left any other country, excepting perhaps Ireland, in its worst days. Few people realize to what extent the country is impoverished by this loss. How few think of the enormous amount of money which has been expended upon the education, the sustentation, the clothing, and the bringing up of the young men and the young women that have left Canada forever. Estimate the mere monetary expenditure on each individual at the low rate of \$1,000, and realize that a million have left Canada since the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1885. It will be seen that the loss to Canada by the exodus foots up to a thousand million of dollars! Think of it—a billion of dollars taken bodily out of the country, with no source to supply the loss except the London market—in which we have borrowed nearly half a billion for railroads, municipal and governmental expenditure! How was this increasing interest to be paid, this enormous obligation yearly to be met, and the bone and sinew of the country leave it? How few realize what the future will be when half her young men have left and gone to the neighboring country. If this exodus is to continue, what is to be the future of each of these Provinces? How impossible it is to contemplate the small growth in the census with anything like a hopeful feeling. The speaker said that he perhaps had opportunity to observe more than most men the steady growth of Canadian influence in the United States; the progress of his compatriots in that land, and the many positions of importance, wealth and power, which were being assumed by Canadian men and women. The speaker said he felt glad to be able to say that in hardly an instance in the United States had there been a forfeiture of the high confidence which had been placed in Canadians, in the numerous positions which they had been called upon to fill, and though it was known he was ready to go bail for almost any Canadian, he had never been asked to perform that service. He gratefully recognized the unstinted welcome which the American people had extended to himself and the million others who had made their home in that most favored of nations. Was it possible that all this could occur and British connection remain unaffected, and with the possibility that by British

connection this condition of isolation was to continue, that connection not be lessened and weakened?

#### Canadian Interest Cannot be Sacrificed to British Classes.

It is absurd to believe that the greater half of the continent, possessing such immense potentialities of profit, should forever remain in its present position for the benefit of a few English manufacturers. The farmer, the fisherman, the lumberman, the miner, and the shipper, all have interests that would be enormously benefited by a close relation with the United States. It is difficult to believe that the interests of these great classes, comprising a vast majority of the people of Canada could be sacrificed, because discrimination was not permitted against a few English manufacturers. This too in the face of the fact that Great Britain would be enormously benefited by such a development as unrestricted reciprocity would produce. If contentment were at the base of loyalty, if prosperity would create contentment, and if prosperity were only possible by an enlargement of opportunity, then would England best be served by making available that opportunity. Any sacrifice that the Canadian people are called upon to bear for the sake of British connection is a sacrifice that Great Britain should not demand, and her statesmen and public men, her capitalists, and her manufacturers, once it was understood that British connection was rendered more secure by contentment, that it was made permanent by prosperity, just so soon would they appreciate the position and withdraw any opposition to the most intimate commercial relation possible between the United States and Canada. The perpetuation on the continent of North America of Great Britain rests on the prosperity of the people of Canada. Forever doom that people to lack of prosperity and British connection is doomed. That which would be in the largest degree contributory to the development of Canada, to the growth of wealth; that which would enlarge the opportunity of the people, that which would entice immigration to her shores; that which would to the greatest possible extent raise the wealth of Canada to a parity with the wealth of the United States, would to just such an extent increase the prospect of the perpetuation of the British Nation on this continent.

#### Would Continental Free Trade lessen Loyalty?

It is said that Continental Free Trade would lessen the loyalty of the Canadian people. There never was a greater libel on any people. To believe that prosperity and success result in disloyalty is to believe in a lie. If such is the case, and the Canadian people are kept loyal because they are kept poor, then loyalty is not worth having. If Canada loses her best people because



she is not prosperous, and prosperity is denied because of British connection, there is good ground for the growth of annexation sentiment. But if, on the contrary, the only argument in favor of annexation is removed by free trade, then there is no ground for annexation. The only possible thing to aid in favor of annexation is that of material advantage. If the material advantage is got without annexation, on what ground can it be urged? The people of Canada, so far as political institutions are concerned, are just as free and just as content as the people of the United States. Indeed, there is an immeasurable contentment in Canada as to the liberality of her government, the freedom of pursuit, the administration of her laws, the strength and stability of her institutions. There is not a solitary attraction in the administration of the United States to attract a Canadian from his own form and system of government. There is not the vestige of an argument in favor of political union so far as political institutions are concerned. It is only because of an absence of freedom of commercial intercourse that there is any force in the annexation contention. Continental Free Trade completely supplies the want, and the possibility of annexation sinks out of sight.

#### Annexation Unnecessary.

The contention that because there is Free Trade between the United States and Canada, there must therefore be a political connection, is absurd in the extreme. Fortunately, there is an experience which showed how untrue and unjust such an argument is. The reciprocity treaty which for ten years existed between the United States and Canada, in natural products, and which expired in 1865, enormously benefitted Canada, as indeed it did the United States. The business of the two countries jumped in ten years from 30 millions to 80 millions of dollars, and had the same growth gone on ever since, instead of trading to that extent now, the trade between the two countries would have been two or three hundred millions. Does any one believe that, if we had continued to deal in natural products freely and unreservedly, there would have been any less loyalty in Canada to-day than there is? On the repeal of this treaty, the feeling of loyalty in Canada was stronger, perhaps, than ever before, as shown by an outburst which occurred at

that period when it was alleged that the abolition of the treaty was stimulated by the expectation of immediate annexation. The Canadian farmer, shut out of the United States' market suddenly and with little preparation, submitted without a whimper to this vast deprivation, and Canada was and is to-day, notwithstanding all that has occurred, loyal to the last degree to British institutions. But it can not continue forever, that, deprived of such advantages as are within his grasp, he should forever remain content and loyal when, without disloyalty, he can be saved from disaster and loss. Political union and Continental Free Trade are as far apart as they possibly can be. Indeed, the difficulty in the United States is the belief that Free Trade would indefinitely postpone annexation. An obstacle which is daily increasing in that country to procuring reciprocity, is the conviction that the longer this concession is withheld, just so much earlier is there a likelihood of political union. Is it not, therefore, plain that, both from an American and a Canadian point of view, Free Trade in North America is simply another word for the perpetuation of British rule within its borders?

#### Prosperity Possible only by Continental Free Trade.

In conclusion Mr. Wiman said that, if it were admitted that there was no greater event in the history of the world than the discovery of America; if it was a fact that England was more benefitted than any other nation by the development of the United States, if it was a still further fact that the slow development of her own possessions on the continent of North America was a loss and a retardation to her commerce, and if the perpetuation of her presence on this continent was to be gained by a prosperity and progress which were alone possible by Free Trade with the United States, he maintained that no greater act of loyalty is possible, no better statesmanship is imaginable, than that which would break down the barrier between the English-speaking people on this continent and making them one commercially, enable each other to make the most of the great heritage which was implied in the words of Emerson, that "We live in a new and exceptional age; America is another name for opportunity; its whole history shows it to be the last best gift of Providence to mankind."

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# A NORTH AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN.

## HOW IT WOULD ENRICH CANADA.

*At New Glasgow, N. S., October 26, 1892.*

### Nature's Intentions Thwarted.

Nature intended that there should be a union of some kind between the Northern and Southern half of the North American continent. Nowhere else in the world is it more plainly evident that one section is a complement of the other, each in a marked degree dependent upon the other. Not only are there no mountains to divide them, no seas to separate them, but the line of division between the two regions in other respects is as imperceptible.

In climate, variety on the North American continent is the highest advantage it possesses. Therefore, to restrict a people by legislation, by law or by commercial policy to one kind of climate, is to legislate against Providence. It looks like a conflict between the Divine law and the human law, in thus enforcing the laws of man against the laws of nature. To enforce such a policy is impolitic, and in the end disastrous to the body politic.

Confirming this view of climate, the products of both North and South are found singularly and absolutely essential to each other region. Thus, the Canadian needs cotton for clothing, and he can get it alone from the Southern States. Why should there be a legal impediment from his getting it where he desires, either raw or manufactured?

On the other hand, the New Englander, who manufactures the cotton, needs coal and food products, and these are found nearest and cheapest, in the Maritime Provinces.

The policy that shuts out coal from New England and opens the mines of Pennsylvania to foreign pauper emigration, until now the English language is hardly spoken therein, is the supremest folly a government ever permitted.

Equally, the policy which shuts out New England manufactures from the Maritime Provinces, so that in exchange for them the people of these Provinces should not produce food and warmth for the New Englander, with a good profit, is a policy disastrous to both sections.

So with lumber for shelter, which the Americans need, and which alone can be found in Canada; with fish, which Canada alone can supply, in exchange for tobacco, sugar, corn, flour, oil, and the thousand other things which go to make up the sum of human happiness.

### Examples of United States and Canada.

The free exchange of products, without let or hindrance, was ordained by nature, and a union of interests between the north and the south is as plainly essential to their prosperity and perfect development as the sun is to light.

No better evidence need be afforded of the advantage of variety in climate and product, in the creation of prosperity and high material progress, than the United States affords.

No stronger illustration is needed of the mistake of confining the operations of the people to narrow latitudes and similar production, than is afforded by Canada.

### Two Nations Starting Side by Side.

The two sections of the continent, started side by side on an equal footing, over a century ago. Canada was the greater half of the continent, as she is to-day, with means of access and interior communication unequalled in the world; she possessed the most abundant resources, had a most industrious and thrifty class of immigrants; was backed by British capital and British enterprise; needed no vast experiment in government, and but perpetuated the institutions that were successful in Great Britain. Her credit was established from the start, and she seemed destined to occupy a position among the nations of the earth, which her vast area, her enormous wealth, her splendid geographical position and her connections entitled her to.

The United States, on the other hand, started with a disorganized group of colonies, largely peopled by those who were uncertain of eventual success, and many of whom were still attached to British connection. Looked at with auspicious by almost every nation in Europe, with an exhausted capital from a long war, with no money at home and no credit abroad, with a vast experiment as to self-government on hand, and with an immigration of the most miscellaneous character from all the nations of the earth, the United States possessed nothing but the inherent advantages of climate, mineral resources and soil on which to build.

Midway in their career the great civil war occurred, which again exhausted their credit, again squandered their money, and again laid waste their

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productive and profitable areas of land. The loss of men and of money, the disaster to credit and confidence, and the ruin of the South seemed complete. No one thing could have occurred which seemed so utterly disastrous to progress than the war of union of States.

Yet, in the face of what seemed an adverse start in the career of nations, in spite of the vast disaster midway in their career, what is the condition of the United States before the world to-day?

#### Comparison the Basis of all Philosophy.

Equally in the face of a magnificent chance which Canada had from 1770, with her splendid backing from the richest and best nation on the face of the earth, with good laws and impartial administration of justice, with liberal encouragement of immigration, with vast public works going forward and the possession of the most abounding resources, how does this great Canada of ours compare with the United States to-day?

Is there, honestly, any ground of comparison between the two sections of the continent as to progress, as to desirability as a place of residence, as to the field of opportunity, as to attractiveness to mankind, as to intellectual development, as to scientific achievements, as to progress of art, or, indeed, of anything for which humanity hungered?

Honestly, there is no comparison possible on these grounds, any more than is a comparison between a population of sixty-five millions and five millions; than there is between a public debt of fifty dollars a head for the Canadian and fifteen dollars for the American; than there is between an internal commerce so vast that figures fail to estimate it, and which creates a tonnage on one river alone, between Canada and the United States, surpassing that of London and Liverpool combined, and a tonnage on all the canals of Canada, costing sixty million dollars, with less than sixty craft to navigate them.

It is no disloyalty to Great Britain to make these comparisons. It is no humiliation to Canada to have to admit that in the race for continental supremacy the anniversary of the discovery by Columbus finds her so far behind, that in the celebration of the discovery of America she is hardly considered before the world, while the United States looms up as having, beyond all other nations in the world, made a progress the most pronounced and the most beneficial to humanity at large.

It is no disloyalty to Great Britain to institute these comparisons, because, had the principles which animate the British nation prevailed upon the American continent, the condition of Canada would have been infinitely better to-day. The comparison between the northern half and the southern half would not be, by any means, so marked, had free trade prevailed over the whole continent.

#### The Advantage of Interchange.

The success of Great Britain, on the one hand, and the success of the United States, on the other, are illustrations of the advantage of interchange of the products of varied climates. Great Britain, if her trade was confined to her own latitudes, would be mere speck upon the sea of commerce, while to-day she fills the eye of the world as the greatest of commercial nations. Levying tribute, as she does, from every nation under the sun, she is the highest illustration of the advantage of the principles of a commercial union with the rest of the world. Though it must be admitted at times this union is denied her, she never refuses it from her side of the bargain.

Equally the success of the United States is an illustration of the advantages of free trade over wide areas, for it must be borne in mind that notwithstanding the policy of isolation which the United States have pursued as against other nations, she is within her own limits a nation of forty nations. Trade has been freer, and among a larger number of traders within the United States than anywhere else in the world. The great commonwealths that have been built up, and the great resources that have been developed, have been more the result of the perfect freedom of intercourse between them and between the climatic and productive advantages which each possesses than any other influence.

Therefore, the experience in Great Britain, and the results which have been achieved from a commercial freedom on the one hand, and an equal internal commercial freedom between different climates in the United States on the other, are illustrations of the necessity for a union of some kind between the northern and southern halves of the continent of North America.

#### The Tariff a Barbed Wire Fence.

The line of demarcation which runs athwart the continent, in the shape of a tariff, has been described as a barbed wire fence, over which one brother cannot trade with another brother, a bushel of potatoes for a bushel of apples without paying tribute to two governments, greater than the cost of production. So long as this condition exists, so long as this high barrier prevails, just so long will Canada on the one hand be isolated and restricted, and on the other hold a position insignificant compared to her magnificent resources.

A diagnosis of the position, which the speaker said he had made years ago, and for which he had got an infinite amount of abuse, was as true to-day as it ever was, that Canada was rich by nature, but poor by policy.

But it is not the policy of Canada alone that has isolated her, and made her progress so stunted and slow as to cause disappointment and apprehension. The policy of the United States has had more to do with shaping the conditions on this continent than



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any thing else. The American system, as it is called, which after the war actuated the policy of the government, shut out every other nation, for the purpose of stimulating the growth within. Canada has been treated by the United States in this matter in the same way that any other nation has been treated, and has no occasion to find fault beyond other nations.

The last great event, in this drama of commercial legislation, was the McKinley bill. The agricultural sections of that bill affected only Canada, and it has been said that it was prompted by a desire to force Canada into the Union. This was not the case so far as offering protection to the American farmer. It was to capture his vote by making him believe he was to be a gainer, and it was merely a trap thrown to the whale. The speaker said, he himself had been accused of encouraging that piece of legislation, and shaping the policy of the government in respect to Canada. This he utterly denied, and read a letter from Mr. McKinley, which he said, should set at rest that accusation.

#### A Change in Policy Impending.

But the policy of the government of the United States was undergoing a great change. Whatever might be the result of the impending Presidential election, it was plainly evident that a much greater liberality would hereafter prevail. The adoption of the principles of Reciprocity by the Republican party had become universal, and almost every banner that has been flung to the breeze, in the existing campaign, has had inscribed thereon, the legend of "Protection and Reciprocity," side by side. It is evident that the managers of the Republican party felt the necessity of a change in this respect, and that had they not adopted a principle which should permit other nations to trade with them, they would have been swept from power. They took a leaf out of Democratic primer, and will succeed in holding their position only by learning the lesson which the Democrats have taught.

Should the Democrats succeed, on the other hand, in obtaining possession of the government, their policy will of course be of a much more liberal character towards outside nations. It is true, there may not be for some time to come a violent revolution for Free trade, and it is equally true, that in the case of Canada, a *quid pro quo* will be demanded, even should Mr. Cleveland and his party be in power.

But the policy of both parties is towards a better relation with all the world, an enlargement of markets, and certainly an expectation of free raw material, so that whether the Republicans or Democrats prevail there is a chance of some arrangement between the two countries.

#### A Commercial Union Defeats a Political Union.

With these possibilities in view, both from a Republican and Democratic view, the speaker said he had come to the Maritime Provinces, to endeavor to

awaken an interest in what he conceived to be a promise nearer than most people supposed, of some kind of a commercial union on this continent. That such a union was necessary, that it was desirable, and that it was possible, was to him as clear as the noon-day. On the other hand, he maintained, as he had always maintained, that Annexation was unnecessary, undesirable, and was, in our day impossible. He felt that a Commercial Union would indefinitely postpone a political union, and he argued that, whatever contributes to prosperity and contentment was much more likely to maintain loyalty, than discontent, poverty and imperfect development. He said, the political condition of Canada was all that any patriot can desire, and, so far as her institutions are concerned, she has the best of every system. In the long and splendid array of governmental achievements of Great Britain, she has precedents, examples and institutions which enable her to be governed in the best form, and from the United States she has derived the benefit of experience and observation in the process of self-government. Canada is therefore, to-day, one of the most happily situated countries in the world, with a government responsible directly to the people, and with a perfect elasticity, safety and permanence in her local and Dominion administrations. She has no political discontent, as such.

Hence the desire for annexation, so far as politics are concerned, does not exist. The only possible excuse for annexation is the material advantage which would flow from it. The only advantage which would come to Canada from annexation would be the breaking down of the barrier that now runs athwart the continent—the barbed wire fence that prevents each nation trading with the other.

If the free trade principles of Great Britain prevailed on the one hand, or the inter-State relations of the United States on the other, as between the northern and southern parts of the continent, there would not be the slightest vestige of a desire for annexation. It would indeed be unnecessary—it would indeed be undesirable; and indeed it would be impossible, if there were no let or hindrance to trade between the northern and southern sections of the continent.

#### Would Commercial Union Lead to Political Union?

The argument against a Commercial Union between the United States and Canada is that it would tend towards annexation, that the intimacies between the two people resulting from a constant and perfect interchange of manufactures and products would beget such a hold upon the Canadian people as would bring them into the Union. In other words, that the eventual purpose and accomplishment of the closest commercial relations would be to make Canada a part of the United States.

This is a supposition, which, even if it were true, ought not to stand in the way. If it is a fact that

the closest commercial relations existing between two nations would bring them together on the highest possible plane of prosperity and success; if it was a fact that so vast an area as the British possessions in North America should be developed to their fullest extent and made contributory, as they ought to be, to the advantage of humanity all over the world, then there ought to be no barrier to their perfect union.

Of all nations in the world, Great Britain would bless that union, if by it the world was benefited; if by it her trade was enormously augmented, her people blessed, her investments increased, and vast material benefits would reach her people.

But, the speaker said, there was no fallacy greater than to believe that prosperity and a close commercial relation with the United States would necessarily bring about annexation. Politics and trade are not essentially blended together. Great Britain trades with all nations of the world, and there is no barrier so far as she is concerned between all sorts and conditions, yet no idea of political change is entertained. On the contrary, wherever Great Britain goes, she is British still, and will be British to the end of the chapter.

#### Why should Canadians cease to be Politically Content?

Why Canadians should cease to be British, when they are politically content, when there is nothing in the policy which Great Britain pursues towards them but that of kindness and consideration itself, and when all the advantages of a separate and independent existence are afforded, for a material gain which political union would not increase, is difficult to understand.

On the contrary, those who live in the United States and study the institutions of that country, and have an opportunity to understand the enormous problems that confront that nation, feel that so far as Canada is concerned, her destiny, as either a colony of Great Britain or as an independent nationality, is much more likely to be fixed and determined as she herself shall dictate. If prosperity, success and development follow the freest possible commercial relations with the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity in the world, which in the providence of God has been raised up on the south of them, for the purpose of trade and commerce, Canada will be more self-reliant, and will develop to a far greater extent a national spirit than she now possesses.

#### A North American Zollverein.

The proposal of a commercial union between the United States and Canada has had for some years a varied significance. It would mean a customs union, such as prevailed among the states of Germany before they became a united empire. It would be a North American Zollverein, and if it

were half as successful as the European commercial league under that name, it would justify its creation as in the highest degree advantageous. The general idea of this form of union between the United States and Canada would be, that the same tariff should prevail all over the Continent, and that the revenues derivable from the customs laws should be pooled in one fund; that they then should be divided in proportion to population. The mode of collection would have to be the same, the rate of taxation everywhere similar, and the division would be on a basis of which no one could complain.

In consequence of the very bitter political prejudice, the merits of Commercial Union have never been fully and completely discussed. It has been condemned out of court because its scope and character were never thoroughly understood. At this late date perhaps it is unwise to obtrude this plan, but as there is invited a broad discussion of all plans that will look to a better relation on this Continent, this one should not be omitted from the discussion. It has many attractions, and would so enormously benefit Canada, that it ought not to be dismissed without the fullest and freest investigation.

What is most attractive about it is, that it can be easily carried in the United States. It would have attractions to the mercantile, manufacturing, and business communities to an extent that would enable it to be carried, in spite of the politicians, whose general policy is that of forcing the country into annexation. But, Commercial Union is so fair in its propositions, is so straightforward and frank in its claims, that anyone who discusses it in the United States cannot object to it, except that it postpones indefinitely any possibility of political union.

#### The Zollverein Idea—British German-American.

The Zollverein idea is taking possession of the English mind. It is another name for Commercial Union. Practically that is what is meant by Imperial Federation—a customs union between all parts of the British Empire. Sir Julius Vogel, one of the leading advocates of the Imperial proposal, elaborates the Federation scheme in a recent English Review under the title of a British Zollverein. So difficult is it, however, to achieve in its purpose to bind together British possessions, that a system of preferential and differential duties it is proposed should be inaugurated—bounties, drawbacks, sliding scales and complications without end. No such machinery is needed, however, to carry out a Zollverein in North America. The two English-speaking nations that together hold the Continent in common could, with the simplest machinery, carry into immediate effect the splendid principles which underlie the Zollverein scheme. This principle is that which pervades the American Union, equally as that which pervades the Dominion of Canada. It is simple free trade between the

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States as between the Provinces. If the same freedom existed between the two countries as exist between the States on the one hand and the Provinces on the other, a Zollverein would be achieved. Perfect equity and perfect equality can be secured, while the simplicity, the early possibility, the immediate contiguity, and enormous consequences within easy reach of such a consummation is in startling contrast with the far-away proposals of a British Zollverein.

A customs union on this continent, covering all varieties of climate, applied to all varieties of products necessary to human happiness, is a magnificent conception. It was this conception by Alexander Hamilton, the first Finance Minister of the United States, that has made that country so great as it is. From him the Germans learned the principle, and to the example set in the United States the success of the German Empire as a great commercial force is to be attributed. Perfect freedom of trade between the commonwealths forming the American union, between these forty-four nations, has been the basis of growth and development. Direct taxation for State purposes was enforced just the same as for municipal purposes, and no barriers by imposts, tariffs or customs regulations permitted among the commonwealths. The result has been stupendous, because of variety of climate, widening areas inviting immigration, developing natural resources, and creating an internal commerce so vast as to tax the powers of estimate.

If Canada will but cultivate the Zollverein idea as applied to North America instead of applying it to European countries, she will find the measure of her growth in the growth of the United States; her wealth would increase in the same proportion. She would be lifted up out of the stunted, narrowed hopelessness of existing isolation to the broad helpful and hopeful relation which the great commonwealths of the South seem to hold to each other. This too without change in political condition. Trade knows no political boundaries, unless indeed it is interfered with, restricted, checked, curbed, cabined and confined. Give it freedom in the shape of a Zollverein on the Continent of North America, and it will do more to produce prosperity, beget development, and confirm existing political conditions than all the operations of politicians, agitators, and federationists combined.

#### The Regulation of the Tariff.

The strongest argument against Commercial Union is that the tariff is to be regulated by the larger party to the bargain. This being the United States, it follows that the Canadian tariff would have to be similar to that which prevails in the United States. In other words, that the tariff line which now extends athwart the continent, south of its centre, shall be lifted up and placed right round the continent, and that the same duties and charges

shall be collected at Halifax as at Boston, at Montreal as at New York, at Vancouver and Victoria as at San Francisco and Portland. So far as advance in the tariff is concerned, for Canada it would not amount to very much, because it is not improbable the United States tariff would be reduced to an equal amount, so that there would be a movement on both sides towards unification. It would not increase the amount to be collected in Canada. On the contrary, the proportion of revenue which each inhabitant would entitle the general government to claim, would enormously augment the revenue of the country, so far as collections against the outside world are concerned.

#### Canadian Revenues Maintained.

It is true that this kind of union would completely obliterate any revenues from the importation of American manufactures and merchandise, but it is believed that the increase to which Canada would be entitled would nearly, if not quite, compensate for this loss. But if even a large deficiency in governmental revenue should result, it could be made up by some different form of taxation. The resources of civilization and taxation are not confined to the impost on goods brought in. There are other modes by which the same result can be achieved. If the results to Canada of an enormous increase in her prosperity, in the development of her resources, in the augmentation of her opportunities, should follow from Commercial Union, she could afford to adopt some other mode of taxation to make up the deficiency should any exist.

#### Who now Regulates the Canadian Tariff?

The objection that the tariff of the country should have its standard regulated outside of the country itself is, of course, a serious one. The right to regulate taxation is one of those inherent rights with which people do not want to part, and it is admitted that a serious difficulty occurs at the outset in discussing this question. But, after all, when it is brought down to practical individual application, what is the loss to each Canadian? How far do the rank and file of the Canadian taxpayers have anything to say in regulating the tariff? It is very plain that the farmer, the fisherman, the miner, the lumberman, and the shipper are enormously affected by the tariff which prevails in the United States. These five classes, which comprise two-thirds of the entire people, absolutely pay as much into the United States Treasury for the right to send their goods therein, as they pay to the Canadian government on the imported goods which they consume. They have nothing to do with the regulation of the tariff of the United States now. But they would have something very important to say if they once consented to Commercial Union. What they would have to say, under such circumstances, would be that there should be no United States tariff at all, so far as they were concerned.

If, therefore, these five great classes of Canadian purchasers should be relieved from paying any taxation to the United States; if they should by one movement entirely obliterate the existence of that tariff, would it not, in a very large degree, compensate them for agreeing to a tariff which the people of the United States were themselves willing to pay? Remember, the tariff regulated at Washington would be the same tariff which prevails throughout the length and breadth of the great country to the south of us, that it would be the same in Pennsylvania as in Ontario, the same in Massachusetts as in the Maritime Provinces. You may rest assured this tariff will receive an enormous amount of attention hereafter, and that it will steadily and rapidly decline. If that is the case, Canada would be safe in agreeing to have a tariff precisely similar.

#### Interested Parties, and not the People.

It will be admitted that, in the making of the tariff, in Canada as in the United States, the influence of a very few prevail over the payments of the many, and that the rank and file of the people have really little to say. It is very clear that, up to this time, the manufacturers themselves regulate the duty which their goods shall bear. Is it not a fact in Canada, as in all protected countries, that the consumer has very little specific to say as to what rates shall be paid on goods manufactured in the country, until long after the rate is levied. Is it not the man who gets the profit, who is the beneficiary of the impost, that says what the impost shall be? Of course, at the general election, the members who have voted for a tariff which may seem to be somewhat exacting, present themselves for re-election, and stand or fall by the record they have made. But is it not a fact that the question of tariff, as to whether it shall be high or low, has very little to do with the matter, and that the rank and file of electors are not afforded the opportunity to say yes or no as to what rate of taxation shall prevail?

If it is a fact that, as a rule, the manufacturers, through the government, regulate their own tariff, and the consumers have little to say about it, and if it is a fact that the question of regulation of tariff is rarely voted upon, to what extent is the deprivation proposed under commercial union?

To each individual in this audience, to what extent would it make a difference whether the tariff was agreed to in Washington or in Ottawa? Would not every individual in the Maritime Provinces be just as safe, so far as his interests and rights are concerned, if he agreed to a tariff made to fit the New England States as he would if it were made in Canada? Let us look at this question honestly and squarely in the face. What is the practical personal objection to the plan proposed, of a uniform tariff between the two people that hold this continent together in common? Surely, if by an act of

any large majority of Canadians, the tariff in the United States against Canada should be irrevocably abolished, would not the advantage which would flow from such a momentous act be tenfold greater than any possible disadvantage which would follow?

#### The Personal Advantage Overweighs the Loss of Public Control.

Looking at it from an economic standpoint, from a purely commercial point of view, and measuring the advantages in a monetary sense, as to whether a free and unrestricted intercourse with the United States would not exceedingly benefit Canada, how is it possible to array against that proposition any disadvantage that would follow to each individual if the tariff was regulated out of the country, and was precisely the same as pervaded the neighboring nation?

#### The Future Regulation of the United States Tariff.

There is one consideration in relation to this question of tariff in the United States which ought to have a very material bearing upon the discussion of a Trade Zollverein between that country and Canada. The present election has a significance bearing upon that tariff, not only because of the desire of the Democrats to materially change the policy of the country, but a question of most momentous importance, as to the powers vested relatively in the Federal and State authorities, is at issue. The Democrats, at their last convention, at last reached the conclusion which has been latent in the minds of many thinking people, that the whole question of tariff legislation was unconstitutional, as against powers vested in the Federal authority by the States. In other words, that the preference of one class over another by taxation was never contemplated in the powers delegated by the States to the Federal government. At any rate, the conclusion is being very generally reached, that it is only for the actual and immediate expenses of the government of the country that the power is vested in the central power to exact taxation. Inasmuch as the amount required for the absolute government of the country is exceedingly small, reaching not over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars a year, you will see at once that if this idea of State control of tariff legislation finds a lodgment in the minds of people, they will seek to limit very materially the expenditure for Federal purposes. If only the necessary and absolutely essential expenses of the government of the United States were called for, it would reduce the tariff by fully seventy five per cent. Under such circumstances you will see at once how advantageously Canada would be benefited in the sense of having a perfect free trade relation with the United States, on the one hand, and an enormously reduced



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If, therefore, the tendency in the United States should be shown by a majority vote in favor of Mr. Cleveland, and if following that, the disposition to restrict taxation to purposes only absolutely necessary, any regulation as to tariff in the United States, so far as it affected Canada, would be very insignificant in its consequences. In other words, if the free trade tendency of the time found the success which the circumstances now indicate, a Commercial Union between the United States and Canada would have far less offensive features than if a high rate of duty continued to be exacted from the rest of the world.

#### The Discrimination Against Great Britain.

This view of the case has an important bearing upon the question of discrimination against Great Britain, which is, of course, one of the most serious objections to any relation with the United States. In a perfect and free interchange of products and manufactures, the manufacturers of Great Britain would be placed, for the time being, at a certain disadvantage. If goods made in Boston, Providence, Fall River and Worcester were allowed to enter the Maritime Provinces free, and the rest of Canada, and a duty were exacted upon the goods manufactured in Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield, it would seem unjust to Great Britain that this condition should exist. But attention is called to the fact that Canada has already adopted a policy whereby there is an absolute discrimination against British goods.

The time was when all the grey cottons consumed in Canada were imported from Great Britain, when nearly all the sugar that was used in the Dominion was brought from Scotland, but it suited the policy of Canada to shut these goods out and discriminate in favor of home manufactures. Whether the policy is wise or not, is not at this moment up for discussion. But, so far as the British manufacturer is concerned, the effect on him is just as serious to discriminate in favor of home manufactures as it would be to discriminate in favor of United States manufactures. His loss is just as great, his hopelessness is just as complete, aye, far more complete than if the goods were bought in the United States and admitted free. In the latter case, the development, the growth and a large market for Canadian products would thereby be secured, the country would increase in its purchasing and paying power, and there would be an opportunity for enlarged trade with Canada, which now does not exist. At any rate, so far as the English manufacturer is concerned, Canada is already committed to a policy which is detrimental to him. If loyalty consists in purchasing goods made in Great Britain, then is the national policy disloyal to Great Britain, because its whole tendency and influence is diametrically opposed to the interest of British manufactures.

#### Discrimination Encourages Home Markets.

It is true that the motive and effect of the national policy is to encourage home production, to stimulate the growth of local manufactures, and thereby to create a home market for Canadian product, and home employment for Canadian artisans. But if that is a good justification for discrimination against Great Britain in favor of home manufactures, it is equally as good a justification for discrimination against them, in favor of American manufactures. A market in the United States among twenty-five millions within reach of Canada, it is just as important to cultivate as a market within the borders of Canada. Indeed, it is more important, and if loyalty justifies the national policy because it creates a home market, it should equally justify commercial union because it creates a nearby foreign market. The latter is infinitely vaster and more important than the former, and to that extent justifies discrimination against Great Britain more completely than does the national policy. So far as the Englishman is concerned, he is just as adversely affected by the creation of home production as he is by a free importation of American products. The sugar refiners of Greenock, some of whom were present at the recent conference in London, were just as bitter in their condemnation of the national policy of Canada as they would be if commercial union existed, so far as the effect upon the sugar trade is concerned. They were shut out of the market, no matter what was the cause or the motive that prompted it.

#### United States Britain's Best Customer.

But, as a matter of fact, taking the United States as the best customer of Great Britain and Canada as one of the poorest, a union between the two, which would make Canada as good a customer as the United States, would be enormously beneficial to British manufacturers. This is shown by the increase in trade from the two countries with Great Britain. Thus in fourteen years, ending with 1889, the increase from Canada was only a paltry one and a half millions of pounds. In the same period, the increase of trade with the United States was fifty millions of pounds. Of course, the enormous aggragation of humanity in the United States, their money making, money spending power, makes them the best of customers, as compared with the small aggregation of limited purchasing capacity in Canada. But the proportion of increase is what strikes one as remarkable. Thus, in fourteen years each Canadian only increased his trade with Great Britain six shillings, or about \$1.50, while every inhabitant of the United States increased their trade with Great Britain sixteen shillings or \$4. If loyalty consists in the ability to purchase from Great Britain, then is every individual in the United States almost four times as loyal as is every individual in Canada.

Existing conditions discriminate to a far greater extent against Great Britain than under the proposed Zollverein.

#### Sacrificing Canada to Great Britain.

It is a question for the Canadian farmer to consider, whether or not he is to be sacrificed for the British manufacturer. No government can be successful that will array one class of producers against another, and sacrifice one to the benefit of the other, even within the limits of the country itself. But it certainly would not be a wise or suitable government that would sacrifice their own best people for the mere sake of sentiment, on the one hand, or even material advantage to another class in another country, on the other.

When it is considered that the total exports of Great Britain to Canada amount to the insignificant sum of three per cent. of the total amount sent out of Great Britain, and when it is recalled that the ability of Canada would be enormously increased to buy British goods, should they prosper and enlarge their opportunities, it will be seen how ridiculous it is to permit such a consideration as discrimination against Great Britain, economically considered, to stand in the way. Sentimentally, there is something very offensive in the idea of 40 per cent. of the British Empire discriminating against the other sixty per cent. in favor of a nation which seems to be a commercial rival and enemy. But again, to get away from sentiment and prejudice down to solid facts, what are the circumstances of the hour, so far as the British manufacturer is concerned with Canada?

#### Five Classes, making the Majority in Canada, Discriminated against.

There are five great classes in Canada that would be enormously benefited by a free market in the United States. These are, the farmer, the fisherman, the miner, the lumberman and the shipper. The interests of every one of these classes, comprising two-thirds of the entire population, would be advanced ten-fold, compared with the disadvantage which would follow to the British manufacturer. The total importations from Great Britain are about 40 millions of dollars. The profit on this 40 millions does not exceed ten per cent., or, say, 4 millions of dollars. This profit is a mere bagatelle compared with the profit which the aggregation, fishermen, miners, lumbermen and shippers, would get by a free and unrestricted access to the great markets to the South. Four millions of dollars a year could well be paid by the government of Canada to the English manufacturers, if such was essential, for the permission to buy cheap goods in the United States, on the one hand, and to export into that country the products and manufactures of Canada, on the other.

Is it not the supremest folly in the world, from a purely economic point of view, to keep this country in leading strings forever, because people who have

no relation to it in the world, except as buyers and sellers, get four millions of dollars a year profit out of products they send hither. If it could be shown that each of these men were making ten times that amount out of the United States, and that they would continue to make the same out of Canada, when Canada reached a development equal to that country, what argument possesses any force as to discrimination against the English manufacturer? Strip the idea of all sentimental consideration, let us look at it purely and solely, how it affects the fishermen of this country, the miners, farmers, producers and manufacturers, who would have in the United States a market for all that they could produce, which would be enormously beneficial to them.

#### England's Revenues not from Trade.

But England has reached a point in her career, in which her fortunes do not rest on trade alone. Her manufactures are beginning to play a secondary part in producing the accumulations of wealth for which she has become famous. Her investors are the earning powers of the country now, rather than her manufacturers and exporters. Thus it is said that the total receipts by Great Britain from interest, dividends and the results of investments abroad, equal a thousand millions of dollars a year. A thousand million of dollars a year is a vast sum, amounting to pretty nearly three millions of dollars a day, and this sum is derived not from any export of goods, not from any trade transactions, or the results of industry or labor. It is simply for the use of money in all parts of the world, in the promotion of various enterprises, in return for indebtedness by states, colonies, corporations, municipalities and individuals.

Now the continent of North America is the best field for investment the world affords, and Great Britain is beginning to perceive it. Her investments in South America, especially in the Argentine Republic, in Egypt, in Africa and elsewhere, are all attended with great risk, while those in a country so stable, so prosperous as the United States, and as Canada may become, are attractive, safe and profitable. Speaking the same language, governed by the same laws, and with all the elements of safety, progress and prosperity, what better field than this continent is open for the use of British capital. No greater contribution to the greatness of Great Britain, her continued prosperity and power, is possible than to open up the enormous North American continent as a field for investment, and that can only be done by some form of commercial union between the latitudes that make up the whole continent.

#### Canada as a Field for Investment.

Hence, if Canada were in a position to invite large investments from Great Britain by such a relation with the United States, as would begot her largest and most rapid development, see how

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advantageous to Canada it would be, how she would become enriched, and how she would then contribute to the revenues of the mother land, by the employment of the capital lying idle there in millions of millions of pounds. Are you aware that interest throughout the last few months has not exceeded one per cent. per annum, and that there is no possibility of an outgo of capital unless new fields open up of a safe and profitable character, and there is no field, in all the world, so attractive as the Dominion of Canada, if she but had the chance for her commercial life. At present the interest to be paid by Canada, on the money already here, taxes to the utmost the debt paying power of the people. It is only by enriching them by a larger market, a greater possibility of profit from their productions, by an enlarged development of the country, that further capital can be induced in this direction.

### Enrichment of Canada.

But the enrichment of Canada would not only be brought about by a larger investment of British capital for the benefit of Great Britain, but it would be brought about by the efforts of her people, if her own people had but an equal chance with the rest of the continent. Never in the history of the world was there a people better equipped to take advantage of the conditions made favorable to them, than the people of Canada. Look at their ancestry, think of the efforts made to subdue the Dominion, its present condition, of the hardships endured, of the vigor and strength developed, of the sacrifices made for the future, and see how weak and puerile that future is! The training, the vigor and the ability of the Canadian makes him stand foremost as a nation of workers, against any part of the world. Nowhere is there a people more industrious, more thrifty, more intelligent than they. Where in South America, in Europe or elsewhere, are the elements of self-reliance, virility and intelligence more developed than in the northern half of the continent? All they need is opportunity, and the statesmanship which restricts and limits their possibilities is undeserving of the name of statesmanship.

Emerson has said, "We live in a new and exceptional age, North America is another name for Opportunity. Its whole history shows it to be the last, best gift of God to mankind." The opportunity for which North America is another name is not to be confined to half of the continent, but to the whole of it, and to the Canadian the opportunity of the moment is supreme. Next door to him a market has been created of the most stupendous proportions in which he ought to be able to trade; in his own possession are products and resources from which he can realize the greatest prosperity. He possesses in himself all the elements to carry forward that realization to the highest perfection, and he needs only freedom of action, needs only to be let alone, only to do as nature intended him to do, and this

Canada of ours will be the greatest country on the face of the earth.

Mr. Wilman then proceeded, by the aid of a map, to demonstrate the advantages of the utmost freedom of trade between the United States and Canada. He pointed out the enrichment that would follow from every section along a border line unparalleled in length, from every interest included in the long stretch of British Empire, which exists between the Atlantic and the Pacific. His knowledge of resources, productions, territory, variety of interests, needs and wants of the people on each side of the border, was shown in a rapid sketch of the advantages which would flow from the freest intercourse to the people on both sides of the border.

### A Zollverein Early Possible.

The speaker claimed that Continental Free Trade or Commercial Union was possible within the next four years, unless, indeed, the annexationist in Canada defeated reciprocity by inducing the Americans to hold off in the hope of acquiring this great country. He believed there was nothing easier to be accomplished, if the people of Canada were willing, than the closest possible commercial relations with the United States. In spite of the expectation which unwise agitation towards annexation was promoting, the good sense of the businessmen of the United States would prevail, and the politicians would have to yield to the pressure of their constituents, who want trade rather than territory, who need free raw material rather than political complications, and were ready for a Zollverein at any moment.

The time was opportune for pressing consideration of this question upon the United States. Annexation could be maintained in that country as in this, as unnecessary, as undesirable and, in our life time, as impossible. It was equally impossible from a British standpoint. Trade and profit was the present watchword of the Republican as of the Democrat, and whichever party prevailed, it would be in order in the next year or two for the people of Canada to propose and accept some scheme of commercial union that would enormously enrich them, give them a step toward independence, and to put them on a high road to a position among the nations of the earth.

"Once to every man and nation comes a moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side:  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right:  
And the choice goes by forever, 'twixt the darkness and the light,  
Hast thou chosen? O my people, of this dear and mighty land,  
Looking to the future, in whose party thou shalt stand?"



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# CONTINENTAL UNITY.

## HOW IT WOULD ENLARGE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

*At Charlottetown, P. E. I., October 27, 1892.*

It was an admitted fact that the success which attended the material development within the United States was a contribution to the good of mankind, beyond all other contributions of the century now closing. Without any attempt at glorification of the career of that country, or a desire to augment the already high estimate which that people themselves place upon what has occurred, it was impossible to ignore the success which had been achieved. If civilization had for its purpose the promotion of human happiness, and if human happiness found its most perfect development in the number and character of happy homes in any country, then in the United States, had civilization made its most rapid progress. For a greater number of homes had been created in the United States within the century than within any other country, while, as a rule, the average condition and comfort of the vast body of the people were certainly of a higher grade than any other country in the world.

### Enlargement of Opportunity.

But the progress of the country was not alone to be judged by the number of homes. Opportunity of the most remarkable character had been availed of, and in almost every department of human activity a progress had been attained of a most astonishing character. Hence, anything that would enlarge that area of opportunity, that would increase the possibility of achievement in a similar line was of the highest importance to the world at large. If a continental unity could be created between the United States and Canada of a character that would make the Northern half of the continent prosper as had the Southern half, a proportionate advantage would be realized, not only to the participants in that prosperity, but to the world at large. It was with a view of discussing what sort of unity could be achieved between the two English speaking people that together hold this continent in common, that the speaker said he ventured to occupy the time of the audience.

### Crowning Glory of North America.

The ability to sustain a vast population, and to sustain it in conditions of the greatest possible comfort, was the crowning glory of the continent

of North America. It is clear that in the Northern half of the continent not one in ten of which that half was competent to supply, had derived support, while in the Southern part of the same continent the population had increased with enormous strides. Within the area included within the United States, the population had grown even within the past decade at a ratio double that of the rest of the world, while in liberality of living, the comfort and luxury afforded to the great body of the people, their growth in wealth and in intelligence, bore a like proportion as compared with all other countries. But it was not alone confined to the sustentation of life upon this continent itself that it was pre-eminent in the world. Its power to help the rest of the world to live is what has made it a most conspicuous example of helpfulness to mankind. For instance, no contribution for the good of humanity was so important as the power to yield food products and export them to countries that without them could hardly be sustained.

The productive forces which underlie the soil of this vast area are therefore the salvation of the world. How far the United States have improved the opportunities which are thus needed, as it were by a Divine demand, will be readily understood when the extent and character, variety and value of the exports which go yearly from that region are comprehended. If these vast opportunities so divinely afforded could be extended so as to cover the whole continent instead of half of it, and by the enterprise and energy of the people of the United States, in connection with the people of Canada, the same results may be proportionally achieved, how advantageous will it be, not only to both nations but to the world at large need not be recounted.

### Output of Food Products.

The activity which in the United States has overtaken cultivation of the soil, the enormous output of food products, which even thus early has resulted, has been a greater advantage to humanity at large, than equal activity elsewhere in the world. To expand that so as to cover areas still greater, and thus keep up with the enormous increase in population everywhere, would be one of the achievements which in the next century must certainly be under-

taken, if production is to be maintained in proportion to population.

Equally the operations on the continent, in Canada, comprising as it does the greater half of the continent, have been, of course, contributory in this direction. But the meagreness of the agricultural development and the limited character of the surplus in shipment, are in startling contrast to the surplus from the United States.

Had the rest of the world been dependent only on the northern half of the continent, and had there been only a production in the United States equal even to its own increase in population, the rest of the world would have been in poor straits for food.

The cost of living in Great Britain, which after all is the basis of her commercial success abroad, has been greatly influenced by the amplitude of food products from the United States. The agricultural depression in England is the testimony to this statement, for although the farmer has been hurt, a vastly greater number of consumers and manufacturing population have been helped by the cheapened food supplies.

Thus while the United States has seemed to be the commercial enemy of Great Britain, the opposite has been the case so far as the supply of food and raw materials is concerned. England's supply of cotton, equally with her supply of breadstuffs and provisions, tobacco, cheese, butter, oil, and other essentials, is more largely derived from the United States than from elsewhere.

#### Contributing to the Greatness of Great Britain.

Again, what is the extent of the contribution by the United States to the maritime greatness of Great Britain? The investment in British shipping to-day is perhaps greater in amount than in any other distinctive interest in that country. Its power to earn consists in its ability to trade with other nations. With what nation in the world is the maritime commerce so profitable as between Great Britain and the United States? Recall the splendid lines of ocean greyhounds that almost daily ply between Liverpool and New York; recall also the lines of freighters, such as the new White Star additions, the great National line, the Anchor, the Wilson, the Allan-State, and other lines of which we hear but little. The tramp steamers that by the score come into New York, Portland, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston and other places, form in themselves a vast flotilla, constantly and valuably employed for the benefit of the people of Great Britain. Beside these, the stately ships under canvas, whose name is legion, that come into all these ports to carry the products of the continent to all parts of the world. Britain's profit on transportation of American products is greater than the profits realized from any other equal investment.

Thus it will be seen that the profit which the United States has created, not only within herself, not only in food supplies, but in transportation facilities, are just as helpful and just as profitable to those abroad, as to those at home.

#### Employment of British Capital.

Still further opportunities for the benefit of the world at large have been created in the United States, in the employment of foreign capital. In this country has there been a larger amount of British and foreign money invested than in the United States. At the recent Congress of the Chambers of Commerce in London, it was proposed to put a tax upon American food products, in favor of the Colonies. It was argued that it would benefit Great Britain by stimulating the production in the Colonies, by shutting out the products of the United States. It did not seem to be realized that in doing this, a greater destruction would take place to profits to English investors than could possibly be gained by either Colonial or British consumers. For instance, the transportation facilities within the United States itself, are almost as largely held in Great Britain as they are in America. Take, as an example, even the Pullman Car Company, which has a capital of \$30,000,000. Yet one-quarter of it is held in Great Britain, and mostly in Scotland. Half of the entire capitalization of the Pennsylvania Company of \$100,000,000 is held in Great Britain, while one sale of bonds alone of the New York Central in one block of \$25,000,000 was reported in London a few years ago. If the transportation from Kansas of corn yields a larger return to the railways than to the producer, and Great Britain owns stock of the transportation agencies, it will be seen how foolish would be a destruction of profit to the British shareholder, for the fanciful advantage to the British manufacturer at the cost of the British consumer.

It is impossible to trace, even with the closest knowledge, the rivulets and streams of British capital that have come into the United States. An estimate recently made shows that out of 1,000 millions of dollars which Great Britain receives in the shape of interest yearly, 200 millions of this came from the United States alone. Thus almost four millions of dollars a week in interest is paid by this commercial rival, this bitter enemy, this disloyal daughter of the great mother of nations. Surely a contribution of four millions a week, which in a very short time may be a million dollars a day, is not to be ignored among the achievements which the opportunities of the United States have afforded to Great Britain.

#### How can Opportunities be Enlarged.

Now, if these opportunities could be enlarged by a continental unity, and the United States make a great profit, Canada be enormously benefited, and Great Britain and the rest of the world helped, is

the profit which it only within herself, but in transportation and just as profitable home.

### Fish Capital.

for the benefit of the United States. In the amount of British capital in the United States of the Chambers proposed to put a tax in favor of the Colonies would benefit Great Britain. The production in the Colonies of the United States realized that in doing so take place to produce possibly be gained by consumers. For in the facilities within the United States largely held in America. Take, as an example, the American Company, which

Yet one-quarter of the United States and mostly in Scotland. The capitalization of the United States is \$1,000,000,000 is held in bonds alone of the United States of \$25,000,000 years ago. If the United States yields a larger amount of the producer, and the transportation of the United States would be a large shareholder, for the British manufacturer.

with the closest of British capital in the United States. An amount of 1,000,000,000 of British capital receives 100 millions of this interest. Thus almost no interest is paid by the enemy, this disservice of nations. One week, which is one dollar a day, movements which have afforded.

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It is not time that some form of unity should be considered.

So far as Canada is concerned, nothing in the whole range of possible events could happen which would so beneficially affect her, as to have the opportunities of the United States so far enlarged as to extend into the Northern half of the continent.

But in order that we may perfectly understand what the consequences of the expansion would be of the opportunities of the United States to continental proportions, let us try to discover what are the elements which have made up the success in that country.

### The Causes of Material Growth in America.

Three great causes are plainly evident as having produced the most stupendous material results in the United States. The first one of these has been the ever widening area of the country. So long as new Territories were added, and new States taken in, so long as broad fields for effort were yearly opened up, just so long was the progress of the country great. All the enrichment of the nation has been on the theory of expansion, and as the new country needed settlement and revealed increased riches and resources, it is but a simple matter to realize how rapidly the country grew. Thus ever-widening areas have up to this period been the chief element in the growth and progress of the neighboring nation.

The second most important influence which has been contributory to the growth of the United States, has been its immigration from abroad. The contribution of the best class from every nation has been going on for many years in great proportions. Thus 500,000 people that would arrive in one year would be no extraordinary figure. These 500,000 people are the best of every nation; they were the youngest, the heartiest, the most intelligent and the most adventurous. It has been said that every immigrant was worth to the United States \$1,000. Hence, if there were 500,000 immigrants in each year, it would appear that the country had gained at the rate of 500 millions of dollars from this immigration alone. This spread over a period of thirty years would make a sum equal to 1,500 millions, which if added to the productive forces they immediately set in motion, it will be seen how rapidly augmented the wealth of the Republic has been. This immigration has been the second great force which has helped that country.

### Development of Natural Resources.

But still a third, and even greater cause for prosperity has been the development of natural resources. It would be difficult for the human mind to take in the extent of this growth. The iron trade alone, perhaps, illustrates it. If you realize so what extent iron has become the article most used in civilization, how it permeates the whole warp and woof of human existence; how from the

parallel strips of iron laid all over the country in the shape of rails, and the locomotive that thunders over them, down to the minutest article of use in the lady's boudoir, so that in the development of that great industry there has been a most rapid stride, until now the iron used by the American people in proportion to population is far greater than by any people in the world. The output of iron by the 30 millions of that nation used by its own people is far in excess of that of even Great Britain, though articles from iron form so large a portion of her exports. But in every other department for the supply of human wants the development has been enormous. Thus in coal, corn and cotton—the three great "C's." how enormous has been the growth. The speaker said, he stood a week ago on a mountain overlooking the Wyoming Valley, in Pennsylvania—the scene of Campbell's beautiful poem—and in this valley, which was within easy range of vision, there had been developed in the last year coal which had realized no less an amount than 38 millions of dollars from that narrow strip of territory. As for cotton, last year's product, alone, amounted to eight million bales, which at the average price of \$50 a bale would yield no less a sum than 400 millions of dollars, an amount greater than the total output of all the gold mines of the world for five years. This, too, the result of the labors of the least intelligent labor, in only one section of the country, and which could be infinitely increased when the world could take the cotton which the South could supply. Oil, corn, tobacco, sugar, silver, gold, timber, fish, and a variety of food products unknown elsewhere, fruits and vegetables, make up a sum of supply for human happiness, were the results of the efforts of this people. So that in the development of natural resources, and of the forces which underlie the ground, this people had become greater, in a material sense, than any other nation in the world.

### The Three Elements Reach Limitation.

Thus the three great elements, ever-widening areas, immigration, and development of natural resources—have all contributed to the growth of the United States. Now it begins to be realized towards the end of this century of material progress, that these three great elements are in a certain sense circumscribed. A limitation seems to have been reached in all three, which, unless there is a wider expansion of territory for development, will begin to be materially lessened. There are no more States to be taken into the Union. The limits of the St. Lawrence, the lakes, and the 45th parallel on the North, and the Rio Grande on the South, are just as fixed and determined as the Atlantic, on the East, and the Pacific, on the West. Within that magnificent stretch nearly all the States of the Union are now taken up, and it is difficult to discover where the ever-widening area. We have so long been the good fortune of the United States are to

come from. The rain belt which runs North and South at the western edge of Kansas and Nebraska is an important element, and the vast stretch between the western boundaries of these States, and the mountains of the Pacific, are found to be arid, and only by large expenditure for irrigation can they be made available. Emigration has turned from the Rocky mountains eastward to meet the great surging populace that comes westward from the East. The result is that in the last ten years the cities have grown rather than the country. The Census shows that the cities have increased at the rate of 60 per cent., while the farmer class have only increased at the rate of 14 per cent., and the whole population 26 per cent. The growth at the ratio of 60 per cent. in the cities for the ten years is an enormous one, as you will admit, and is full of the deepest significance as to the future of the United States. It reveals in trumpet tones that there is no more land to be taken up, and it is a truth of a serious character that it is just as difficult now to get a farm in Minnesota, without displacing a farmer, as it is to get a farm in Pennsylvania without displacing a farmer. The "land hunger" which has set in, in the last few years, which has had its example in the great struggle at Oklahoma, the Sioux Reservation and other fields, indicates that the areas hitherto open and free, are at least restricted and beginning to be crowded. This with exhaustion of arable soils in the Middle States and the abandoned farms in New England States is an object lesson of great import.

Equally is there change in respect to immigration. There is a tendency towards restricting this materially, simply because there is no room for them, while the class of immigration, such as the Italians, Poles and Russian Jews, who herd in cities, are the direct results of restricted land supply, and will have the effect of materially restricting the arrivals hereafter, unless there are open fields for the reception of the better class.

Equally with the lessening of ever-widening areas, equally with the restriction of immigration, comes the singular occupancy of almost every field of natural resources. Thus, the oil business is altogether taken up by the Standard Oil Company; the coal business is controlled by the Reading coal combine; iron is already practically cornered, while in lumber, silver and copper there is a practical union of interests. The sugar trade is restricted to the Sugar Trust, and in almost every industry a combination has been formed, so that the opportunity for the next generation to deal in these natural products or even manufactured supplies is restricted to the few. The young man of the future seeking for employment must become forever a clerk, a hewer of wood or a drawer of water, because he cannot find opportunity for the development on his own account and of his own ability in the development of natural resources.

Thus it will be seen that the three great forces

that have been in operation in the United States are in a certain sense becoming restricted, and while the population grows, and the necessity for broad expansion is more than ever apparent, restriction, combination and lessened areas are the features of the hour.

#### Equipped for Still Broader Expansion.

Meantime the United States is equipped for increased expansion, for conquering new territory. The locomotive builders will soon need new railways which to equip, so with the builders of Machinery, of Agricultural Implements, Stoves, Boots and Shoes, and the ten thousand other industries will need new markets, meantime the rank and file of emigration, of the surplus population, of the adventurous and enterprising spirits that are in the schools and colleges, workshops, mines and factories of the Union will need some further outlet in which their energies and enterprise can be employed.

#### The Prospect in Canada.

Now, some form of continental unity between the United States and Canada would open up a country to meet this condition. Here are ever-widening areas, here is abundant room for emigration, and surely in Canada more than in any other country in the world, there is abundance of natural resources needing only development. The very elements that have made the United States successful are the elements which Canada needs. The advantage to the United States of a continental unity is quite as great as to Canada, and nothing in the possible category of events would be so helpful to both as to break down the barrier that exists between the two countries.

#### Which Form of Union?

Two forms of Continental Unity seem possible between the United States and Canada. One form is that of a political union, another form is that of a reciprocal or commercial union, by which the customs border line between the two countries could be completely obliterated. It is to discuss before you these two modes of union that this opportunity has been sought. Let us first talk of political union.

So far as it is possible to estimate the advantages which would flow to both countries from a union of material interest, nothing could occur so advantageous as a political union. The growth in the United States is the measure of the growth possible to Canada, if the countries were one politically as well as commercially. So far as advantage is concerned, there is simply no question as to the material gain to Canada. The speaker said, that he was once asked before the committee of the Senate of the United States, how much, as a realizable asset, Canada would increase if she were a part of the Union. He had replied, that she would be

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worth a hundred times as much as she is now. Being asked if he did not mean a hundred per cent., he replied, no, he meant what he had said, viz. a hundred times as much. He meant by that, that the iron mines of Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and Algoma were practically worthless, so far as an output was concerned, but that with an unlimited market for the highest grade of ore, mined at a less expense and reared the greatest means of communication, would be worth a hundred times as much as they are to-day. He meant that the fisheries, timber limits, and above all, the shipping interests of the country, would be augmented a hundred times. Canada had spent sixty millions of dollars in her canals, and she has less than sixty craft to navigate them. If she were a part of the United States, she would be the greatest shipping nation in the world. There was commerce floating for eight months in the year on the Detroit River, which exceeded in tonnage that of London and Liverpool combined for the whole year, and Canada had not a dollar's interest in that tonnage. If she were a part of the Union she would have one-half of it, because her people are natural born sailors, she has abundant supply of raw material, great ports, and a development in this respect would far exceed the above estimate, but before the Senate Committee. So with almost every other asset it is possible to name. Certainly the farms of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island would be worth the interest on a hundred times their present value, if the markets of the United States were freely opened to them.

#### Desire for Political Union.

So far, therefore, as material advantage was concerned, political union was beyond all question the most advantageous thing, materially considered, that could occur to Canada.

But the question was, whether political union could be brought about within anything like reasonable time; whether it could be brought about it was desirable. The speaker said, he had felt for many years that annexation was unnecessary, was undesirable, and was impossible. In every speech that he had made and every article he had written, in relation to this great Canadian question, he had reiterated that belief. Indeed, it had come to be to him like the formula of a doctor, who, when asked for a cure, makes a prescription, and the prescription which the speaker has at all times indulged in was, that annexation was unnecessary, was undesirable, and that it was impossible.

That there is a growth in the sentiment in favor of political union, there can be no doubt. It is a natural growth, and if there is no hope for a reciprocal growth, if there is no chance for a better relation between these two countries, it is a fact that the sentiment towards a political assimilation will grow with great rapidity. The extent of the personal annexation that is all

the time going forward in the shape of an exodus, must have its eventual effect upon the country left behind. A census of the Canadians in the United States is one of the most remarkable features of the hour. The "new Yankee," as the Nova Scotian is called in Boston, the ever-present French Canadian, who in every manufacturing town is found to prevail, equally with the enterprising native of Ontario, occupy positions in the United States, to-day, more influential, more controlling and more profitable than any other single class of immigration that has ever reached these shores.

The result, together with the operations of the tariffs, the growth of the United States, the stunted growth of Canada, together with the racial and religious difficulties between Quebec and Ontario, and the apparent hopelessness of the future for Canada, make it absolutely certain that a desire for political union will grow as time goes on.

#### Difficulty with Details to accomplish Political Union.

But notwithstanding the rapidity in growth of the desire for a political assimilation of the two countries, it is difficult when you get down to details to discover how it could be consummated. There seems to be no constitutional means by which annexation can take place. Looking at it from a United States point of view, there are only three ways in which they can be added to. These are, first conquest, second purchase, and third revolution. The greater part of the United States has been purchased from European potentates, the last instance being that of Alaska. Now, there is no such possibility as the purchase of Canada. All the money of the United States could be piled up, if every cent in their possession was put into one pile, it would not purchase an acre of Canada from Great Britain. She would never part for money with any portion of her territory, while the Canadians would, of course, not submit to any such sale. Once Mr. Blaine, in a bantering mood, had asked the speaker if all the governmental, provincial, municipal, railroad and farm mortgage indebtedness of Canada was paid, would they come into the Union, and asked the speaker if he were willing to negotiate for the acquirement of the country on such terms. He was told that he little understood the sentiment that pervaded the community, and that even such a proposition, in a spirit of banter, would do infinite harm. So far as purchase is concerned, therefore, it seems out of the question. So with conquest. It would simply mean a war with Great Britain, which of all things neither the United States or Great Britain can afford, and is not for one moment to be considered. Equally as to a revolution in Canada, it is simply impossible. There can be no revolution where there is a ballot box. There is no political discontent against the governmental institutions of Canada.

Indeed, there is an immeasurable political contentment because of a responsible government, honestly administered, liberal laws, and the elastic institutions which bless the Canadians, and to-day they are in a far preferable condition to the citizens of the United States in form of government.

#### Delay from Annexation Advocacy.

As to how annexation ever is to be brought about, it seems most difficult to discern. It is said that in Toronto there is a political union club formed; that they intend to disseminate literature and have speeches and addresses, and the question honestly discussed. This is most desirable. It is also said to be the intention at the next general election to put ten or twenty candidates in the field. It seems an utter impossibility, judging by the temper of the vast majority of the people, that any one of these candidates would have the slightest chance of election. But suppose that even five out of ten were elected, or even ten out of twenty, how many years would elapse before a sufficient number of parliamentary representatives could be got together who would favor annexation. Why, it would take at least fifty years.

It must also be borne in mind that no movement with consequences so vast as annexation can ever take place with only a mere majority. The United States would not admit Canada into the Union unless nine-tenths of her population asked for it, and the prospect of nine-tenths of the people ever demanding annexation is so remote, and so hopeless, that it is folly, dreaming that this would be the remedy for the commercial and material disadvantages under which the country is laboring. Horace has a motto of which the speaker said he was very fond, and it was—"The short space of life forbids the laying of plans requiring a long time for their accomplishment."

From a careful and painstaking study of this question for many years, with as perfect a knowledge of the conditions that prevail in Canada as it was possible for a Canadian outside of the country to have, his deliberate conviction was that from fifty to seventy-five years was a time too short in which to achieve political union.

#### Annexation not a Factor in Practical Politics.

If the present generation desire any advantage from the growth of the country, if the resources and chances on this continent are to be worth anything at all, it seems folly to postpone their realization for a lifetime, which political union certainly did. Looking at the matter as a purely practical one, it seemed the utmost folly to expect anything from political union in the shape of material advantage for half a century to come.

If this was the case in Canada, it was infinitely more the case in the United States. The vague, indolent, general conception in the United States re-

garding Canada is, that it should form a part of the Union. But the men who indulge in this belief do so without much thought. The rank and file of business men who practically control the commercial policy of the United States are somewhat better informed, while the politicians themselves, except they want to tickle the ears of the crowdings, and most of the neighboring nations are not so much in love with annexation as the people of Canada suppose them to be. The merchant who wants an outlet for his goods, the father of half a dozen sons who wants new fields in which they can operate, the capitalist seeking for augmentation of his income by purchase of land or of timber limits, the railroad builder, the locomotive constructor, the agricultural implement maker, are all opposed to annexation if it is going to take fifty years to bring it about. Equally the politician is opposed to additions of territory. There is not a politician in the country who would not protest against the admission into the Senate of the United States of say sixteen additional representatives, where the balance of power is now held with such equality that the absence of two members upsets the equilibrium. The addition to the House of Representatives of a new body of representatives would be simply fatal to either party, unless their tendencies were ascertained beforehand. As to legislation, it is simply out of the question, that any more territory should be taken in, for fifty years. Last session no less than fifteen thousand bills were introduced into Congress, and not one member of that body read one-quarter of the bills, much less acted upon them. Indeed there were only eleven hundred bills out of the fifteen thousand passed. The governmental departments are taxed to the utmost, and no less than four Secretaries of the Treasury have dropped dead at their post, because of the exactions of the office.

#### The Serious Objections to Annexation.

There are many arguments against annexation, other than the cry of disloyalty. The question should be thoroughly discussed and thoroughly thrashed out, and when it is practically understood, as it ought to be, the desire for it will be far less than it is now. The sentiment in its behalf grows because it is a great move, because it is an illicit love, because it is supposed to be a possibility. Were it to be discussed at every street corner, in every public place, and the reasons urged in its behalf compared with those in favor of reciprocal union, it would cease to exist.

Few in Canada or in the United States have realized just what the annexation of Canada means to Great Britain. The boast that the sun never sets upon the British Empire would cease, if Canada were to lose her British connection. The stretch between the Atlantic and the Pacific is the longest stretch of British territory in the world. To denude Great Britain of this area, which comprises forty

per cent. of the world's population, in the war to a second world is to denude her on a Australia materially of Great Britain without the advantage to a Canadian who stands the Thinking influence promotion mercantile and religious large a portion with dis made to mous on degree a valuable ance would it was no

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per cent. of the entire British Empire, would be, in the words of Dalton McCarthy, to "reduce her to a second rate power." Her moral influence in the world is because of her vastness of Empire. To denude her of forty per cent. of that area, her hold on Australia, on India and other colonies would be materially lessened. No one can view the influence of Great Britain upon the civilization of the world, without feeling that it has been of the highest advantage to humanity. Even the unthinking American who would like to add enormously to his territory, hesitates in that advocacy when he understands the position it would place Great Britain in. Thinking men in the United States realize that no influence in the world is more advantageous to the promotion of commerce, to the creation of loans, in mercantile enterprise, in civilization, intelligence and religious influence. In England the loss of so large a portion of the Empire as Canada is viewed with dismay. The struggle which Great Britain, made to retain the thirteen colonies was an enormous one, and now that they have developed to a degree so great, and Canada becomes so exceedingly valuable as an asset, the same sentiment of resistance would be felt in Great Britain, even though it was not demonstrated by force of arms.

#### The Improbability of Annexation.

There is no justification whatever in Canada seeking a different political alliance. Great Britain has treated Canada with the utmost liberality and freedom. Not a dollar of Canadian revenue is sought for by the Imperial Treasury, and notwithstanding the enormous expenditure which Great Britain has incurred in maintaining Canada, advancing her money for internal improvements and contributing in every way to her success, she practically gives up to the people of Canada the entire country, without charge, or limit, or exaction. No mother ever endowed a child with an inheritance so vast, no nation ever gave up more completely a possession so great as the territory Canada owns and possesses from Great Britain without let or hindrance.

A sense of gratitude, profound patriotism, love for British connection permeates the Canadian people, and the idea that they will willingly throw off the allegiance to the mother country is the most unlikely that it is possible to conceive of.

The only possible justification for such a tendency is, should British connection, and the interests of British manufacturers stand in the way of development of natural resources. Then a tendency in this direction is inevitable. If, however, by commercial union of some character, that should be alike honorable and equitable, all the advantages of annexation would be obtained, it will be seen how completely will be removed all the arguments in favor of political union.

#### Can Reciprocity be Had?

One of the chief arguments that annexationists use is the impossibility of procuring a commercial or unrestricted union with the United States. It is pointed out that time after time Canadian ambassadors have gone to Washington to tender reciprocity in natural products, and even, to some extent, in other articles. It is said that while the American people feel that there is a possibility of acquiring so vast a territory by a retaliatory policy, they will never consent to yield all the advantages of a close connection by reciprocity.

The strongest argument for political union is that commercial union is impossible. The speaker said he professed to know as much about this question as any other living man. He claimed that he had opportunities in the United States approached, by no other individual for testing public sentiment, he had an enormous contact with public men, with bankers, with merchants, manufacturers, and the commercial class, more than any other Canadian. Some credit must be given to him for intelligence and sincerity, in addition to his knowledge, and that with all this behind him, he made this deliberate statement, that he believed that if the Canadian people, through their government, would consent to a complete and perfect reciprocity, in less than three years it could be achieved. It was true that many politicians thought they could make capital by retaliation, and the foolish movement in favor of annexation in Canada had been so magnified as to make a good many people suppose there was a growth in the sentiment, that in time would become effective. But the business men of the country know better. Their information is much more complete, and they realize that if there was any hope at all for a close relation between the two people it would be through reciprocal or commercial arrangements.

#### Trade Needed in United States more than Territory.

It was exceedingly easy to educate the American manufacturer and merchant to the advantages of a commercial arrangement with Canada, and through them it would be exceedingly easy to influence legislation. Take, for instance, the distinctive articles manufactured in the various States, and note how many voters would be interested in getting the expansive market which Canada by its enormous growth would soon become. In the East, in New England, for instance, all the manufacturers of that country would like to trade with the Maritime Provinces; equally would they like to receive coal and iron and food products. No Senator or Congressman from any district in New England could withstand the demand for a commercial arrangement, if the Maritime Provinces were in a position to offer it.

The barrier between the two countries could be immediately obliterated, and the McKinley bill, so

far as between the Maritime Provinces and New England, would cease to be. The same freedom of trade would follow as between Quebec and Ontario, on the one hand, and New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio on the other. It was impossible to deny the desire for an expansion of trade and for free raw material in the United States, and the Senators from Pennsylvania, from New York, and from Ohio, would have to yield to the pressure of the men who are the manufacturers and merchants, seeking a larger trade relation.

#### The Two Controlling Political Parties Pledged to Expansion.

If there is any sincerity at all in the Republicans in their advocacy of reciprocity, they cannot deny to Canada that boon, when unrestricted trade is offered. Up to this time nothing of the kind has been done. The offer to reciprocate only in natural products is a mockery to the United States. In reason it could not be entertained, and nothing but an unrestricted continental market will be accepted from Canada, in exchange for an equally unrestricted continental market in the United States.

If, on the other hand, the Democrats are at all sincere in their professions of free trade, a free trade arrangement on the northern border of the continent would be an instalment of the best and most satisfactory character. There is no pauper labor, no European competition, nothing but an unlimited supply of free raw material, partial development of manufactures and the cheapest of food products, which the Democrats, of all people in the world, are the most anxious to obtain.

#### Continental Free Trade Possible.

The speaker said it was his deliberate conviction that if the policy of the present government could be so modified as to make up a large list of articles in which a perfect exchange could be consummated, that even that would be accepted as a step in the right direction. But if the present government could not do it, and a Liberal government were to offer Continental Free Trade or commercial union, in the terms of either the Butterworth bill or the Hitt resolution, he believed in all his heart and soul that this arrangement could be consummated, for the infinite benefit of both countries. Certainly there was nothing in the present position of matters in the United States to show a disinclination on the part of that country to trade in the freest manner with Canada, if the customs barrier between the two were obliterated. If annexation had no better argument, or no firmer basis than the allegation that the United States would not grant reciprocity, then was its promotion most dangerous, its advocacy most foolish, and its final result most disastrous.

The advocacy of annexation in Canada does infinite harm in the United States. Nothing can ever be accomplished by encouraging retaliation in that country. The people of Canada are not to be

driven into a political alliance, which they do not covet, out of a political alliance with which they are entirely content. If annexation is ever to be achieved, it must be done by a condition of preparedness on the part of both parties to the contract. If a sensible and reasonable man thought for an instant that annexation might be much easier brought about by a close commercial intimacy than by continued isolation, he should cease to advocate annexation. There are many who believe that annexation will follow Continental Free Trade. There are equally many more who believe that Continental Free Trade will indefinitely postpone it.

#### Real Freedom in Canada.

It is true that if reciprocity exists, discrimination against British manufactures will follow, and that when legislation seeks from Great Britain consent to shut out British goods in favor of American goods, a step is taken towards an independence of action that may look to an eventual severance of the connection between the two countries. But those who look deeper into the hearts and minds of the Canadian people, and feel that their interests alone compel them to this action; that it is not meant in any sense of disloyalty to Great Britain, but is an essential element in their geographical and commercial existence, and that it will be eventually beneficial to Great Britain, there can be no serious objection, especially as prosperity and success would do more to maintain loyalty than continued isolation, stunted development and poverty.

#### Benefit to Canada beyond Estimate.

The benefit to Canada of an enlargement of the opportunities of the United States by continental unity is beyond estimate. There is hardly a mineral possession in the country but would be immediately sought by American capital and enterprise, because of the American Market. The fishing interests would be greatly benefitted by the best market under the sun for the catches, while in timber, in shipping, and, especially, in the lesser grains and products of the farmer, a stimulus would be given which would be of the greatest possible value. But Canada would be enriched by an immigration which would be of vast proportions in the Northwest, and which overflowing from the United States by the sinking of the barrier between the two countries, out of sight, would augment production and rapidly increase the area of trade. Emigration, instead of going out of Canada, and taking the best young men and young women, would cease, while immigrants from the United States, as from a ll parts of Europe, would naturally flow in this direction.

#### Manufacturing Interests Advanced.

But in no department of activity within the Dominion itself would there be a greater impulse than to the manufacturing. The cry that recipre-

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city would injure manufacturing, is the cry of those whose existence is dependent upon an unfair advantage over the rest of the people. The absorption of goods by the United States is beyond the proportion of any other country, and with raw material nearby, with the best class of manufacturing population, with abundant water power, thrift and economy, Canada ought to become one of the greatest manufacturing centres in the world. More than half of the French population are now manufacturing in the New England States. What is the difference between Quebec, on the one hand, and New England on the other, so far as soil, air, water and material surroundings are concerned? Why is it that the French-Canadian at Worcester so successful as a manufacturer, would not be equally successful in Montreal, if the same market was open for his efforts? Why is it that the agricultural implement manufacturer, the stove maker, the boot and shoe maker, the furniture and clothing manufacturer cannot make goods just as well north of the St. Lawrence as he can

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south of it? Canada has in front of her a market of enormous proportions; is possessed within herself of an abundance of raw material, a thrifty, industrious population, and if it cannot hold its own against the Americans, if it cannot imitate the mother country and compete for the trade to which it would like free access, it is not the Canada that we are all so proud of.

Thus, in all classes of natural resources there would be the greatest development, in agricultural production, there would be a market for the largest output, as an attractive field for immigration nothing in the world would possess a better chance, and in manufactures there ought to be no question as to the future.

In all the broad area of the world there would seem no better prospect for enrichment, for growth and progress, than in Canada, if but the opportunities of the United States are enlarged by such a continental unity as would make trade as free, as between the States of the Union, on the one hand, and the provinces of the Dominion, on the other.

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# ANGLO-SAXON UNITY.

## THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

*At St. John, N. B., October 28, 1892.*

A survey of the world shows that more has been achieved by the Anglo-Saxon race than by any other. In holding its own always where once planted, and generally making the most of everything, its career has made an impress on the world unequalled or even approached. Its power of absorption of other races shows it to possess forces of assimilation of the greatest value, not only to itself but to other nations. The antecedents of the race seem to have fitted it for just this property of achievement and assimilation. Not only assimilation of other races, as the Celt, the Teuton and the Latin, but begetting domination and development of the best that is in them.

### **Fifteen Hundred Years of Preparation—Five Hundred of Achievement.**

Recall the amazing march of this Anglo-Saxon race and the long period of their preparation. In the Fifth Century, coming from their Germanic home, we see them take root in English soil—a soil of all others best adapted for their early efforts. Crowding out the weaker races, yet ready to be softened and made pliant by the Christian religion, laying the basis for that high nobility of character and lofty purpose which ever after characterise the race. Then to test and make them still more vigorous, came the long-continued Danish invasions, checking their growth and apparently setting them back for centuries. Then still further pushed for centuries by the French, they suddenly shake out their banners in the face of the Norman barons. With a vigor of arms and a vigor of thought they wrung from the crown that great foundation of human rights, the Magna Charta. They swung their battle axes with the pent up energy of centuries, and won at last their House of Commons. A new day dawned on humanity at large from that hour, and though it took fifteen hundred years from the birth of the Saviour to achieve that legislative court, and that bill of rights, yet at last by the Anglo-Saxon race it was secured. It was then that in the Anglo-Saxon race the hope of the world was found as it is to-day. Who shall tell of the wrong and evil that in the dark and middle ages had prevailed. How vast the sorrow, the suffering, the terror and the woes of the human race till this dawn of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Christ had died in vain, it

would almost appear, because of evil, but now a new dawn sprang forth, and the words of Robert Collyer in the full noon of the new day were true:—

"Slow and sure as the oaks have grown  
From acorns that fell on a dim old day,  
So Saxon manhood in city and town  
To a nobler statue will grow alway.  
Winning by inches, holding by clinches,  
Standing by law and human right,  
Many times falling, never once quailing,  
So the new day shall come out from the night."

### **Foundation of Human Liberty.**

The importance of what was then achieved can be measured in the years succeeding the 15th century. What has been accomplished in the past 500 years, is more to be attributed to the foundation of human liberty thus laid by the Anglo-Saxon race than any other influence. If civilisation has for its purpose the promotion of human happiness, and human happiness is best judged by the character of its home, the progress of the people, the intelligence and skill of the craftsman, how enormously is the world indebted to the Anglo-Saxon civilisation. For not content with a lodgement in England, the Saxon seeks and wins by conquest and treaty the Celt on each side, and practically makes them one. Yet pining to new fields for adventure at last even the broad Atlantic is subdued and the white wings go flying over the waters to a new world.

### **The True Discoverer of America—Anglo-Saxon Influences.**

It was a Saxon, empowered by a Saxon king, doing more carefully what centuries before had been done by the Icelanders, that first really discovered America. It was the Saxon Cabots, father and son, the Bristol merchants who 19 or 15 months before Columbus touched the continent of America, that planted the English banner on the shore of Cape Breton. The commemoration of the discovery by Columbus, just now celebrated, has been all very well in its way, but the results that followed the discovery by the Cabots are more worthy of commemoration. Judge of the results by the relative progress on this continent, of the Latin race that followed in the wake of Columbus and the achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race, following in

the wake of Cabot. The difference in the two races, and the immense superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, is seen in the difference between South America and North America. It seemed fortunate for mankind at large that a bank of cloud changed the course of Columbus so that he steered south, landing at San Salvador, and that following him, the Spaniard and the Italian became the inhabitants of South America. Since then and forever hereafter the instability of the government, the low moral tone in business and industry, and thrift will prevail. Fortunate escape for this marvellous North American continent that Columbus did not find a lodgement here. It remained that in the divine and beneficent Providence, the Anglo-Saxon race should find the most perfect home on this continent. Surely the overwhelming advances in civilization has found here the amplest field, the widest opportunity.

#### The Seeds of English Liberty Here a Glorious Harvest.

A century after the discovery by Cabot, a band of English men and English women landed at Plymouth, laid deep and broad the foundation of a new and magnificent career for Anglo-Saxon triumphs. They shook from their hands the seeds of English liberty, and the winds of two centuries have sown them all over the broad continent. These seeds of liberty, taking root, bore a harvest that took its shape in the Declaration of Independence, in the success of the American Revolution, and in the eventual creation of a nation of forty-four nations. This vast aggregation still maintains its Anglo-Saxon characteristics. Possessing the same lineage, the same language, the same laws, the same literature, it is essentially Anglo-Saxon still, animated by the principles of the Magna Charta, founded on the eternal foundations of truth and liberty, the growth of the American Republic has been steadfast, and rapid beyond the wildest imaginations of prophets or enthusiasts.

#### The English Language Pervading America.

The great central fact in the progress on the continent is the controlling and overpowering influence of the English language. How far that indicates the prevalence of the Anglo-Saxon civilization in the new world is best shown by its universality. All nations have come in the direction of the new world, yet have learned the English language, no dual use of different tongues has ever for a moment been contemplated. True, the Teuton, by his numbers, his force of character, and the deep impress he has made on the new world, has in certain localities a representation in the German newspaper, sometimes in the German school. Equally the Frenchman and the Italian are heard in their native tongue to carry on the business of the home, but these are insignificant patches

in the great network with which the English tongue covers the continent. No babel of tongues is heard, but the sturdy, strong words of the Anglo-Saxon race.

In the northern part of the continent, within the British possessions, there are no signs of the decadence of the English tongue, though side by side in legislative halls and courts the language of another race is used.

#### Canadian Anglo-Saxonism.

The force and power of Anglo-Saxon civilization has been just as clearly shown in the greater half of the continent as in the southern half. Indeed, the force and vigor resulting from the admixture of Celt and Saxon is found in British North America to be more developed than elsewhere on the globe. They are more assertive, more self-sufficient, more intensely political than their cousins across the border. Comparing the Canadian people with those of any other nation, it is impossible not to reach the conclusion that in all the virtues that go to make up a vigorous community they are unequalled. Their ancestry made this almost certain. The industry needed to clear the land, the vigorous effort required to bring a living out of the soil or the sea, the privations and poverty endured to subdue the soil, laid the basis for a great people.

#### Why has not Equal Success been Achieved?

It is not because they did not work hard enough in the past, and that their children are less thrifty in the present, that a success equal to that on the lesser half of the continent has not been achieved. It is not because they have adhered to British institutions and become even more distinctively Anglo-Saxon than their neighbors that the progress of the Great North Land has been less marked than the progress of the Republic. It has been because a great schism in the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent grew out of mistake in commercial policy which, following the line of demarcation that separates the two nations, sunders them as widely apart as if they were separated by a high mountain, by a deep morass or a wide sea. It has not been by political difference of government, not by difference of administration of affairs that one section of the Anglo-Saxon race has outstripped the other section for supremacy on the continent. The cause for the disparity between them is in the unfortunate circumstance that the people of Canada, by commercial policy both in the colony and the republic, have been confined to narrow limits. They have been restricted to narrow latitudes everywhere the same, with a duplication of products, of measure variety, with an open market 3,000 miles away, but with their neighbors shut out and themselves shut in.

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### Had Free Trade Prevailed on the Whole Continent.

Had British principles prevailed, principles of free trade and unshackled commerce, Canada would to-day be on the highest road to prosperity. This is shown by the progress of Great Britain itself in the enormous extent of her commerce, and especially in the carrying trade, covering every sea, handling the product of every climate, and levying tribute from every nation under the sun. It is equally shown in the progress of the United States, whose success is more to be attributed to free trade between great commonwealths equally, to the variety of climate, the variety of product and resource, than to anything else.

### Trade Freedom between the States a Sublime Conception.

The conception of confederation of states or commonwealths, without being surrounded by custom lines, trading with each other in all varieties of all climates, is a sublime one. The union of such a group, till at last they number forty-four great nations, centralizing their trade and commerce in themselves, and by rigid barriers trying to exclude the rest of the world, is a spectacle reserved for these later days. Note the enormous growth of internal commerce thus created. Recall the fact that the tonnage of the Sault Ste. Marie canal is greater in eight months than the commerce of the St. Lawrence canal for an entire year. Think that the tonnage that floats in the Detroit river, the boundary between Ontario and Michigan, is greater than the combined tonnage of Liverpool and London. The exchange of iron ore of the West for the coal of the East, of the copper of the North for the cotton of the South, of the wheat and flour of the Northwest for the manufactures and merchandises of the East, made up this vast flotilla, in which, sad to say, Canada, alongside, had not a dollar's interest. Though Canada has spent sixty millions of dollars on her water ways, yet she has not sixty craft to navigate them, and though she owns one-half the Detroit river, she has not a dollar in its commerce, the largest the world boasts of. It is because of a false and unwise policy, on the part of both sections of the English speaking race, that this disparity exists. Is it not time that a change should take place in this doctrine of reprisals, that as between the two great portions of the continent there should no longer prevail a commercial belligerency? The Columbus commemoration bids the nations that occupy the continent to stop as ships on mid-ocean, and take an observation for future guidance. The present is a time for stock-taking; a period for an inventory of achievement, of profits, of possessions.

### Progress and Permanent Prosperity.

The century closing a career more wonderful in achievements than was accomplished in the 1800 years that preceded it, admonishes those who are

laggards in the race to reverse their policy and join in the procession that on this continent moves toward progress and permanent prosperity. So happily in the Republic, that more rapidly than elsewhere has advanced Anglo-Saxon civilization, a period has been reached when a reversal of the policy of belligerency is likely to follow. The necessity for a change by the Republican party in the control of the government, whereby reciprocity takes its place side by side with protection on the banners of the party is significant of the pending change. If this party succeed in maintaining their control of their affairs, there is good ground for hope that toward the best of the continent, there will be a disposition to unshackle commerce and enlarge trade. This is likely to be the case unless, indeed, the machinations of annexationists make it appear that by a policy of indifference, or of positive pressure and retaliation, Canada will be acquired politically and assimilated into the Union. Nothing but this expectation, this false hope, this delusive snare, will prevent the extension toward Canada of the most liberal reciprocal measures.

### A Change in United States Policy.

If however, a change should take place in the administration that presides over the vast aggregation of humanity to the south, and the Democrats should come into control, the tendency toward a larger trade relation is sure to follow. Canada should be the first of outside nations to feel the effect of the success that would follow the election of Mr. Cleveland. The struggle therefore that impends is the most important, especially to Canada, that has ever taken place, and will have a vital influence in the future unity of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent.

The unity of the Anglo-Saxon race or its achievements for the good of mankind, does not necessarily imply a political unity. The policy of Great Britain toward the world at large, and especially toward the United States, has no semblance or tendency toward a political union, yet it would be impossible to conceive of a closer commercial intimacy than exists. Even as against a policy of exclusion by the United States, of deliberate isolation, the commerce that exists between the two dominant Anglo-Saxon nations on the globe exceeds that of any other in the world. Mr. Wilman showed that as between Canada and the mother country, which were one politically, there was not really the growth as there was between the United States and the mother country. In 15 years Canada and Great Britain had increased their trade a paltry one and a half million of pounds, while as between the United States and Britain it had grown by fifty millions. In that period each American had increased his business with the mother country by sixteen shillings, while each Canadian had increased it six shillings. If loyalty consisted in benefiting the mother country by trade and profit, then was each American almost three times as loyal as each Canadian.

If, however, the changing tendencies in the United States would be effective, and the barbed wire fence that now surrounds it be removed, or its repulsive features removed, it would be seen what might be expected in the future, if in the past, against such adverse circumstances, so much had been done. Meantime in Canada the question of the future was pressing. The necessity for some change was apparent. Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain had said Canada could not remain as she is, and a great many more felt that some change in policy so far as it affected the United States must occur. The change could take on the shape of some kind of commercial bargain by which each section of the continent would be more beneficial to the other than it had hitherto been. Mr. Wiman now set forth at length his well known views as to the benefits of continental free trade known as unrestricted reciprocity, commercial union, a North American Zollverein or some form of trade unity as between the United States, as now prevails between the provinces of the Dominion and the United States of the Union.

#### Which shall it be—Unrestricted Reciprocity or Continental Free Trade?

The results to Canada of the impending Presidential election in the United States will be most important. It may be doubted if ever before there was an electoral contest in one country quite so important in its influence upon another. Yet there is good hope whichever side wins. The Republican party are pledged to Reciprocity, and if they are sincere in that desire, there is no direction in which the principle can be applied so advantageously as toward Canada. But to get these advantages Canada will have to give as well as take. Unrestricted must be the term descriptive of her reciprocity if she is to secure it, and that means practical Free Trade between the two countries. It means a uniform tariff against the rest of the world, and discrimination in favor of American manufactures in exchange for the market which American consumers afford. When Canada is ready for real reciprocity, there will be no difficulty in realizing it from the Republican party should they still control the destinies of the neighboring Republic.

But meantime, should the Democratic party come into power, a different state of affairs will prevail, though in the end the result to Canada will be the same. Only under Democratic rule the result can be sooner brought about, and there will not likely be an indulgence in the policy of pressure, a retaliation that seems of late to have moved the Republicans. There has been an idea among leading men in that party that political union might be forced. The agricultural schedule in the McKinley bill, the Sault Canal enforcement, and the threat to abolish bonding privileges, are among the indications in that direction.

#### The Result of a Democratic Triumph.

With the success of the Democratic party in the United States, however, a totally new policy will be inaugurated, in which it is to be hoped the Canadian question will be treated in a broader and more statesmanlike manner. The election of Mr. Cleveland will mean that sooner or later the shackles will fall from trade as completely as by the election of Lincoln the chains dropped from the slave. It will rest with Canada to say how far an event which almost equals each other in beneficence will affect her. *If she is ready to accept a similar situation, and reverse her policy from protection to free trade, she will participate in all the benefits that follow unrestricted intercourse.* But all the freedom cannot be on one side only. A free market for American manufacturers in Canada must follow a free market in the United States for Canadian products—for her food products, her raw material equally for her manufactures. The same conditions will prevail under Democratic rule as under Republican rule, so far as interchange is concerned, so far as concerns uniformity of tariff, discrimination and unrestricted intercourse. But, under the Democrats a gradual reduction in the tariff will follow, commencing doubtless with raw material and food products, because this can be done without disturbing vested interests created by protection. But the Democrats are just as intent upon getting a market as they are upon giving one, and the attitude of Canada toward the United States has certainly been such as to compel them to discriminate against the Dominion, and to insist that a market be opened in the North in exchange for one in the South. Continental free trade will likely therefore be the prevalent policy should the Democrats prevail. The term reciprocity is likely to disappear from the nomenclature of ruling American statesmanship as the Democrats regard it as a leaf filched from their primer, though many regarded it as a welcome tendency in their direction. Free trade in the long run with all the world, and Continental free trade as the first instalment, will be the direction of the pendulum swinging in the opposite direction to that of the McKinley tariff. But unless the Foster tariff in Canada comes down in equal proportion, and a disposition toward freedom is shown, the Democratic triumph in the United States will have no significance for Canada. Hence under Democratic rule in the United States the party in Canada which in the long run will win, should inscribe upon its banners Continental Free Trade.

#### A Democratic Triumph and Annexation.

Perhaps the most marked result of Democratic triumph in the United States will be a serious set-back to the annexation sentiment in Canada. The strongest argument in Canada at the present time, in favor of Political Union, is that there is no hope of close trade relations on any other basis

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with the United States. This has never been true, yet the growing tendency of the Republican party is to encourage that idea, and the more annexation is talked about, the less likely is reciprocity from the Republicans. But with Democratic success these conditions completely change. The Democratic party is pledged to the freest trade, and certainly free trade in raw material and cheapened food products, which will form nine-tenths of what Canada can at present supply. Hence, their success will mean that the moment Canada expresses a desire to trade freely by making a market for what she needs from the United States for what the United States needs from Canada, that moment the barrier between the two countries will disappear. With a Democratic triumph in the United States 't can be no longer urged that there is an unwillingness to deal with Canada on terms the most liberal. Equally no longer can annexation be argued for, on the score of inability to accomplish the greatest possible results by a business bargain, irrespective of political union. The Democratic triumph will, therefore, do more to keep back the growth of annexation than any other outside event, provided the people of Canada respond to the desire thus expressed by the American people, to trade freely with each other and the rest of the world.

#### Anglo-Saxon Unity in Trade.

A union of the Anglo-Saxon race in trade and commerce in the example set by England for all mankind, and in the example within the United States, is hope of the world. A larger space of the earth's surface has been subdued by the freedom of intercourse than by any other force. Comfort, happiness, intelligence, intellectual development, and all that goes to make up the sum of human blessedness, is more the result of freedom of trade than by a policy of restriction and exclusion of all people. The people of Canada should now realize this. Her young people in vast numbers were leaving her. Estimating each person who had left the country, as having cost \$1,000 for food, clothing and education, before reaching maturity, her loss in the past 25 years by actual expenditure on the million of people who had departed was not less than a billion of dollars. No young country had ever been subjected to such an enormous drain, such a process of exhaustion. To save this vast loss, to have so enormous a sum safely invested by the efforts of its people remaining in this new country, was surely the highest statesmanship.

#### Reverse the Existing Policy.

It was Anglo-Saxon sense that would carefully investigate and readily admit the truth if found in error. Hence he urged a dispassionate and economic consideration of the policy of Anglo-Saxon unity of Great Britain, the United States and Canada. That would benefit the United States, enrich England, and help Canada to the position which her

vast areas, her geographical position, her wealth and the vigor of her people, demanded among the nations of the earth. Sir Thomas Farrer, one of the wisest of English economists, has recently said in an American magazine: "Free commercial dealings between Canada and the United States, to the exclusion of the mother country, would be grudgingly assented to at home, and would no doubt create a bitter feeling in the United Kingdom. But if the United States and Canada were both to relax their protective policy and to invite trade with the United Kingdom, as well as with each other, all people in the British Islands would no doubt hail with delight the prospect of bringing the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada into closer and more harmonious relations, by means of unrestricted commercial intercourse." It remains to be seen whether, in the forthcoming presidential election in the United States, the policy of better trade relations, finds favor with the American people; if such is the result, the first step will likely be a free trade relation between the United States and Canada, because that would mean free raw material, and cheapened food products, a cardinal doctrine in the Democratic decalogue. If free trade can be created between the United States and Canada, surely it will be a welcome instalment toward a closer intercourse between the United States and Great Britain.

#### Imperial Federation a Mistake.

As to the proposition of the Imperial Federationists to commit Anglo-Saxon unity to Great Britain and her colonies, it would seem as if it were an attempt to restrict it within very narrow limits. Indeed, an Imperial Zollverein would be far less a benefit to population than even a North American Zollverein. Thus the United Kingdom had a population of 35,000,000, Canada 5,000,000, Australia 3,000,000, West Indies 1,000,000, British Africa 1,000,000, Crown Colonies and Dependencies 1,000,000, total 46,000,000. True, India and its 200,000,000 of natives are not included, but they are in no sense a factor in the Anglo-Saxon unity of the race any more than is China or Japan. Compare even this 46,000,000 with the population of Germany 45,000,000, Austria 42,000,000, Russia 80,000,000, and the United States 65,000,000. The talk of an empire on which the sun never sets," a "Zollverein or union of nations, increasing in strength and grandeur as time goes on" seems to have a slim justification when the Anglo-Saxon population outside of the British Islands foots up to only 11,000,000 of people. Canada, both in area and population, forms nearly one-half of it, and what Canada gets from the rest of it seems extremely problematical. Free and unrestricted intercourse is now afforded with 35,000,000 in Great Britain, 3,000 miles away; an equally free and unrestricted intercourse with double that number in the United States, just next door, is equally possible. This would make a Zollverein far more im-

perial in its measure of advantage to Canada than federation of the British Empire in commerce. The one is tangible, possible, eminently profitable. The other is remote, illusive, and problematical as to a profit.

### Will England Deny Continental Free Trade?

An Anglo-Saxon unity on the ground of unrestricted trade between Great Britain, United States and Canada is not a remote possibility. A freedom of trade prevalent on this continent would enormously advance it. If the McKinley bill can be obliterated along the whole northern border of the United States, surely it is a welcome instalment. Shall Canada deny it to herself because England is not just at the moment inclined? England surely will ask no such sacrifice.

### The Future of Canada Full of Promise.

The result of such a unity of the Anglo-Saxon race would be to place Canada in the van of nations. Possessing now the only field for European emigration, abounding in riches of nature, she would offer to the world the fulfilment of the dream, like the words of Emerson, so gloriously realized in the United States, yet only partially completed in Canada, the greater half of the continent. "We live in a new and exceptional age. North America is another name for opportunity. Its whole history shows it to be the last best gift of Providence to mankind." Canada, that is the larger half of this gift of God to the world, is cabined and confined because some cotton combine might be interfered with, because some sugar interests might fail to provide sugar for the party that sustains it, because some whiskey syndicate of half a dozen firms must get rich by taxation. How miserable seems the subterfuge that binds within narrow bonds this huge Sampson of strength and power, this sleeping giant of the world, this vigorous, forceful home of a section of the Anglo-Saxon race. What possibilities abroad has this land of raw material, of cheap food products, of abundant water power, of a brave and patient people, and enormous distributive facilities.

### The Trade of the East for Canada.

Why should not Canada follow in the wake of Anglo-Saxon civilization toward the nations of the East. Imperial federalists will claim India as a part of their advantage in their trading scheme. Why should not Canada claim Japan as her peculiar field of profit. Already a great and most noble transportation system points in that direction, already have Anglo-Saxon ideas penetrated that vast people. The English language has been established as the vehicle of thought, schools and

universities, students in England and the United States by the score, and an absorption of Anglo-Saxon wares is everywhere evident. One may fancy the youth of the 40,000,000 of Japanese rapping at the gates of China and opening new fields for Canadian products and the fruits of Canadian skill and invention.

### Room in Canada for Millions.

Why Anglo-Saxon unity is the hope of the world is found not only in what it has achieved in the past and will achieve in the future, but in a special degree is Canada destined to fulfil that hope by her development. Here is room for future millions that must from Europe come this way. The United States have already exhausted their arable soils and a land hunger has set in that only in Canada can be appeased. Besides this, if in the last decade the world over, population increased eleven per cent., and the area of production only three per cent., Canada must be relied upon as the future granary from whence must be drawn the future food supply of the world. Thus with the development possible only to Anglo-Saxon unity it is literally the hope of the world.

### The Impending Change in the United States.

It will be said that Anglo-Saxon unity on a trade basis is hopeless as long as the United States pursues its present policy of protection. This is true enough if there were not already hope and certainty in the reciprocity policy of the Republic on the one hand and the equal certainty of the unshackling of commerce by the Democrats on the other.

The tides ebb and flow with no greater regularity than nations learn and unlearn. The pendulum that swings one way to the scheme of protection, as embodied in the McKinley tariff, is almost certain to swing to the other extreme in the advanced position which Chicago Democrats insisted the democratic party should occupy. The impending election will certainly, within the next few months, change the whole aspect of a possible commercial union between the English speaking people on this continent. At any rate it will be seen that a majority of the people of the United States will be found on the side of enlarged relations with the rest of the world. The world moves as the Anglo-Saxon civilization progresses. If the great schism that the American revolution created could be healed by a close commercial union of its three great branches, commencing with that between the United States and Canada, a new hope would open its portals of promise for our native land, for the Mother Land, for our Kinsman across the border and for all Mankind.

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